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The League's Business

Nominating Committee Named

In accordance with a decision of the Executive Committee of the League's Council on November 30, Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council, has appointed a nominating committee to report prior to the next National Conference on Government which has been tentatively scheduled for November 1946. Members of the committee are Frederick L. Bird, chairman, James W. Clise, Karl Detzer, Herbert Emmerich, Carl H. Pforzheimer and Richard S. Childs, *ex officio*. There has been no election of officers since the League's last conference in 1941. League officers were "frozen" as of that date, for the duration of the war and until a conference could be arranged, in accordance with a decision of the Council in January 1944.

* * *

Winant on Economic-Social Council

John G. Winant, United States ambassador to Great Britain and president of the National Municipal League, has been designated by President Truman as United States representative at the organization meetings of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

* * *

Charter Guide Committee to Meet

The League's Committee on a Guide for Charter Commissions will meet in New York on March 25 to discuss a preliminary draft of the document.[1]

* * *

New Honors for Murray Seasongood

Murray Seasongood, former League president, has received three new honors recently. He was appointed to the Commission of Code Revision by the governor of Ohio, was elected president of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations, and was elected as an Assembly delegate to the House of Delegates of the American Bar Association.

* * *

Wyatt Named Housing Expediter

Wilson W. Wyatt, Jr., who recently completed his term as mayor of Louisville (a Louisville mayor cannot succeed himself), and a member of the Council of the League, has been named federal housing expediter "to break bottlenecks in building and to relieve shortages in supplies."

* * *

Dwight F. Davis Dies

Dwight F. Davis, an active member of the League for thirty years and a member of the Council from 1916 to 1919, died November 28 in Washington. Mr. Davis had a brilliant record successively as tennis champion, soldier, public servant and civic leader. He donated the Davis Tennis Cup for which international matches have been played for a generation, entered World War I as a private and emerged a colonel with the Distinguished Service Cross and two citations for bravery in action, served as Secretary of War and as Governor General of the Philippines.

[1]For membership of the committee see the REVIEW, July 1945, p. 322.

Editorial Comment

The Villain in the Housing Picture

WHEN WE are beset by a major misfortune like the current housing shortage there is an immediate escapist rush to find a villain to blame for the predicament—any experienced rabble-rouser is aware of the need of having a single villain. This time there appears to be no well defined villain, at least not one who is solely and entirely to blame.

Yet, we must identify the reasons for failure if we are to replace them with conditions which will bring success. It is said there is immediate need for at least five million housing units. Daily the situation is made more serious by the return from the armed forces of men who have married while in service or who wish to marry and who, for their own future well-being as well as that of the nation, must have an opportunity to set up a normal family life. The educational features of the G. I. bill of rights seem well on their way toward practical nullification by the lack of housing facilities on the campus, especially housing for the married veteran. Prices of homes, new and old, are getting beyond the reach of many who normally could afford them.

Perhaps it is over-simplification to say the reason we have too little housing is that no one has been building, or at least not enough to make much impression, for more than ten years. Going back to the time before the nation's productive capacity was turned to war, why did building of homes stop?

Could the landlord, big and little, with vacancies on his hands and with inadequate return on money already invested in housing, be fairly expected to build more? Could the building materials manufacturer be fairly accused of keeping prices higher than they should have been in the face of knowledge that such a practice would ruin his business? Could the entire blame be credibly assessed on the feather-bedding and other restrictive practices of the building trades which, after all, would hardly deliberately destroy their means of livelihood? Could the banker, looking over his lists of mortgages of doubtful value and remembering what had happened during the recent deflation, be blamed for a conservative approach toward new mortgages?

No, somehow the single villain doesn't seem to be skulking among these or other key groups any more than he might be found in Mr. Average Citizen whose yearning for his own home is a major one. Why, if as a practical matter he could have done so, didn't he build himself a house in the pre-war years? Why isn't he doing it now?

Surely there must be a basic, fundamental key to this log jam which might turn loose the needed flood of housing. Public housing can never more than scratch the surface. The key must be found which will make it possible for private enterprise to do the job. Reconditioning old abandoned housing doesn't ap-

pear to be a ready answer, either. As we contemplate the buildings of another age, many of which are still sturdy but obsolescent and not fit to live in as they are, too good to be torn down and still not worth modernizing, these thought-provoking words come to mind:

> We shall live to see the day, I trust . . . when no man shall build his house for posterity. Why should he? He might just as reasonably order a durable suit of clothes—leather, or gutta percha, or whatever else lasts longest—so that his great grandchildren should have the benefit of them, and cut precisely the same figure in the world that he himself does. If each generation were allowed and expected to build its own houses, that single change . . . would imply almost every reform which society is suffering for. I doubt whether even our public edifices . . . ought to be built of such permanent materials as stone or brick. It were better that they should crumble to ruin once in twenty years or thereabouts, as a hint to the people to examine and reform the institutions which they symbolize.[1]

Why are our ideas about buildings so inflexible? Why must a house "look like a house"? Does today's automobile look like the motor cars of 1900? Why must we make each public building more palatial and "permanent" than the last when almost all of those which were constructed within the early memory of people nearing their three score and ten are long since inadequate?

This would seem to be a good time to make a completely fresh approach to the whole question of what a house or a building of any kind should be, what it is for. We are certainly ripe for a new kind of thinking on the subject. Just as great wars and other emergencies challenge men to speed up the normal process of scientific development and invention, this should be the golden opportunity for those who have argued that houses which would be economical, yet ideal to work, sleep, eat and have fun in, could be built quickly—if men didn't put so many obstructions in the way.

The chief barriers are identified as antiquated building methods, irregular employment, outmoded local building codes, restrictive practices in the building industry and restraints imposed by labor.

Following Hawthorne's long neglected advice surely would stabilize employment, but first we would have to overcome the dead hand of the past as represented in the other restrictions.

[1]Nathaniel Hawthorne in *The House of Seven Gables.*

Home Rule by Constitutional Fiat

New basic law increases latitude of Missouri cities in drafting charters, consolidating and cooperating with other governments; decreases danger of state encroachment.

By ESTAL E. SPARLIN*

THE new Missouri constitution unshackles the municipalities of the "Show Me State" in a number of significant ways, and better, as well as more democratic, government should result. Such provisions as those allowing cooperation between cities, consolidation of certain city and county functions, pensions for city employees in certain sized municipalities, and others should facilitate efficiency; extension of home rule to twenty additional cities, elimination of state taxes on cities, greatly lessened tax rate limits, and similar provisions help push off the yoke of the state government and lodge more complete control of local government in the local electorate.

Although Missouri originated home rule for cities in 1875, it has lagged behind many other states in this respect in the intervening 70 years. The 1875 constitution contained two provisions for home rule: one was a special section for St. Louis, allowing it to separate from St. Louis County and frame its own charter; the second was a general provision allowing all cities of over 100,000 to frame and adopt their own charters. At the time of the adoption of the 1875 constitution there was no city in the latter category, St. Louis being the only city of over 100,000. St. Louis did, however, immediately take advantage of the special home rule provisions and frame and adopt a charter for its government. Kansas City came into the 100,000 category shortly thereafter, and it immediately framed and adopted its own charter under the general provision of the constitution allowing home rule for cities.

California in 1879 followed Missouri in providing for home rule for San Francisco and in 1887 extended home rule to all cities of more than 10,000 population. Nineteen of the states now provide home rule for at least some of their cities, and most of the provisions extend to more cities than did the 1875 Missouri constitution.

The new constitution retains the special provision for St. Louis but extends downward to 10,000 the category of cities eligible under the general provisions. This increases from two to 22 the number of cities in Missouri eligible to draw home rule charters. The new constitution not only extends to these 22 cities the right to draw their own charters,

*Dr. Sparlin is a staff member of the Missouri Legislative Research Committee, on leave from the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute where he is administrative analyst. He is working on problems of municipal and county government in connection with revision of state laws to make them conform to the provisions of the new Missouri constitution. Dr. Sparlin was formerly instructor at the University of Missouri and assistant professor of rural government at the University of Arkansas. From 1942 to 1944 he was district price executive for the Office of Price Administration at Little Rock, Arkansas.

but its framers were cognizant of the encroachment of the state government upon the powers of the home rule cities under the old constitution and thus attempted to thwart such attempts by inserting the following provisions in the constitution: "No law shall be enacted creating or fixing the powers, duties, or compensation of any municipal office or employment, for any city framing or adopting its own charter under this or any previous constitution, and all such offices or employments heretofore created shall cease at the end of the terms of any present incumbents."

New Charters Soon

Some interest in a home rule charter has already been expressed in University City (33,023), Missouri's sixth largest city, and it is entirely likely that a good many of the twenty cities made eligible for home rule by the new constitution will be operating under charters framed by themselves before many years pass.

In the field of governmental interrelationships there were three new provisions inserted in the new constitution. "Any municipality," the new document reads, "or political subdivision of this state may contract and cooperate with other municipalities or political subdivisions thereof, or with other states or their municipalities or political subdivisions, or with the United States, for the planning, development, construction, acquisition or operation of any public improvement or facility, or for a common service." It would seem that international relations is about the only thing denied a city under this provision. In St. Louis County, where cities are thicker than hops, and in some border situations, such as Kansas City, Kansas, and Kansas City, Missouri, it is hoped that this authority to cooperate and contract will alleviate some rather difficult jurisdictional problems. It is also possible that the Missouri Municipal League, greatly strengthened in recent years by the addition to its membership of both Kansas City and St. Louis, may want to work out contracts for common purchasing and perhaps other functions.

The second intergovernmental relationship provision is the one which authorizes the government of any city, town or village to "be consolidated or separated, in whole or in part, with or from that of the county or other political subdivision in which such city, town or village is situated."

The third intergovernmental relationship provision relates to the St. Louis City and St. Louis County problem. In 1875 St. Louis City rather gingerly carved out the cream of the then St. Louis County and divorced itself from the rural sections of the county, leaving that portion to shift for itself, under the provisions of the 1875 constitution. By 1900 the city had spread out over all the area it had included within its boundaries and was overflowing into the surrounding territory. By 1940 nearly 300,000 people lived in St. Louis County in numerous incorporated cities and towns and equally numerous unincorporated "urban" areas—all of which results in a serious metropolitan problem.

Two attempts were made in the twenties and thirties to get the city

and the county back together so as to work out their problem as one government, but both plans were defeated by adverse votes in the county.

The old constitution provided the following three methods from which the people of the St. Louis area could choose in solving their problems: (1) consolidation of the territories and governments into one political subdivision under the municipal government of St. Louis; (2) extension of the county so as to embrace the territory of the city; and (3) enlargement of the territory of the city through annexation of part of the territory of the county.

Functional Consolidation

A fourth possible solution is added by the new constitution: the people of the area may establish a metropolitan district or districts for the administration of services common to the territory included. Such districts might, for example, be established to administer such functions as sewage disposal or parks. Because of the serious difficulties in the way of obtaining approval for a complete consolidation of the city and the county, it seems that "functional" consolidation may offer a more acceptable solution to this problem.

The new constitution made substantial changes in tax rate limits and debt limits on cities. Under the old constitution cities of 30,000 and over population had a maximum tax rate limit of $1 on $100 assessed valuation, cities of 10,001 to 29,999 had a limit of 60 cents, cities of 1,001 to 10,000 had a limit of 50 cents, and cities of 1,000 or less had a limit of 25 cents. Under the new constitution a uniform limit of $1 is set for all cities. However, the people of a city by a two-thirds majority and for a period of not longer than four years may raise this limit of $1 without limit unless one is established by the legislature. Still further, city councils when authorized by law may levy any additional amount as provided by the General Assembly for libraries, hospitals, public health, recreation grounds and museums. Obviously this is a great relaxation of constitutional tax rate limits for cities. However, according to data gathered by the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, 33 of the 87 Missouri cities with a population of more than 2,500 levied taxes in 1943 in excess of the limits permitted by the state constitution for "city and town purposes." Even St. Joseph, Missouri's third city, was 3.5 cents over its constitutional limit in 1942. Thus, to some extent the increases contained in the new constitution merely legalize a situation which already existed.

Under the old constitution the debt limit for cities with a population of more than 75,000 was 10 per cent of the assessed valuation and for all other cities the limit was 5 per cent of the assessed valuation, except that cities of less than 30,000 inhabitants could borrow up to 10 per cent additional for the purchase or construction of utilities. The new constitution places all cities in the same category and allows 10 per cent for general purposes, 10 per cent for streets and sewers, and 10 per cent for waterworks, electric or other light plants—except that the total cannot exceed 20 per cent at any time.

Any city by a four-sevenths vote may issue negotiable interest-bearing revenue bonds for the purpose of purchasing or building any revenue-producing water, gas or electric light works, heating or power plants, or airports. One of the unknown quantities is whether or not this provision of the constitution, by enumerating certain revenue-bond purposes, prevents a city from issuing such bonds for other purposes. Kansas City, for example, already has outstanding revenue bonds for municipal markets. As the utility companies are very much interested in this provision of the constitution it is likely that the Supreme Court of the state will soon be forced to rule on the question.

The usual refunding provisions are contained in the new constitution except that refunding bonds cannot bear a rate of interest greater than the bonds which they refund. This may cause the cities trouble in a rising interest rate market.

Cities operating under home rule charters may enact ordinances providing for the clearance, replanning, reconstruction, redevelopment and rehabilitation of blighted, substandard or insanitary areas. This authority vests a considerable amount of power in the local authorities to deal with slum problems.

In St. Louis City all officers must be on a salary, thus eliminating the archaic fee system which has continued to apply to several municipal offices.

All cities are required to prepare annual budgets, file annual reports of their financial transactions, and be audited. Many Missouri cities have been making annual reports, but relatively few have prepared budgets, and still fewer have been audited. The state auditor must "establish appropriate systems of accounting for the political subdivisions of the state, supervise their budgeting systems, and audit their accounts as provided by law." This provision is still in the process of being interpreted. The principal question is whether or not cities are "political subdivisions of the state," and if so whether the state auditor is the only one that can audit them. The answer will make considerable difference in the operations of the state auditor's office and of the cities.

Municipal Pensions Authorized

The General Assembly may authorize any city to pension its policemen and firemen and may authorize any city of over 100,000 inhabitants to pension other employees.

The cities should benefit from several provisions of the new constitution relating to state aid, state taxes on municipalities, and the use of highway funds in cities. Under the provisions of the old constitution and laws, cities were required to pay state sales taxes on their purchases, but under the provisions of the new constitution "the general assembly shall not impose taxes upon counties or other political subdivisions." On the other hand, nothing in the constitution "shall prevent the enactment of general laws directing the payment of funds collected for state purposes to counties or other political subdivisions as state aid for local purposes." With this proviso in the constitution it is likely that state aid

to local units will become a part of the state-local financing system in Missouri shortly.

Heretofore the state highway department has been prevented by statute from using any state highway funds in cities of over 2,500, but the new constitution authorizes the use of state funds for highways in cities and towns where they are "necessary as a continuation of any state or federal highway, or any connection therewith." The use of state funds is also authorized for any highway where such funds are required as a condition to the receipt of federal funds. These changes will give some relief to municipal finances and also will permit Missouri to match federal funds earmarked for use in cities.

In the new state property tax structure, intangibles must be taxed on the basis of income and the tax is to be collected by the state, but the returns from the tax are to be allocated to the units of origin. If the tax is at all successful, it will likely increase the return of cities from this tax as such property has not been assessed in any substantial quantities in the past.

Manager Plan Strengthened

As was indicated at the beginning of this article, the new constitution does not disturb the fundamental structure of municipal government in Missouri. The provision relating to the classification of cities was copied verbatim from the old constitution into the new, which means that the revision session of the General Assembly is making no changes in the present four classes of cities. City manager government in Kansas City, if anything, was strengthened by the provisions already enumerated, and the adoption of the city manager plan by other cities is at least as easy as heretofore and may even be accelerated in the course of time as the twenty cities newly made eligible for home rule prepare charters.

The current General Assembly, which convened in January 1945 and has been in session since except for a recess this summer, will likely continue in session until next June 30, at which time laws in conflict with the new constitution become void. Even though the new constitution lays the groundwork for improved municipal government in Missouri, much depends upon the laws passed by this session of the General Assembly implementing the provisions of the constitution. Those interested in better city government in Missouri, however, have much to be thankful for as a result of the adoption of the new constitution in February 1945.

Where They Planned for Peace

"We just sort of got together" in Kingsport, Tennessee, and labor-management team, its war job finished, swings model, depression-proof community into smooth reconversion.

By CHARLES STEVENSON*

KINGSPORT, Tennessee, had its war boom. A government ordnance plant employed 5,200 workers. When that plant shut down it meant that almost one third of the industrial workers in the Kingsport area had lost their jobs.

One month later so many were back at work that there was a labor shortage and the U. S. Employment Service was looking for 528 more men! Kingsport people in general never even knew that reconversion from war to peacetime economy was supposed to be a headache. With them it went off smoothly. Nor was it done by pulling rabbits out of hats.

"We just sort of got together," said the chairman of the local development commission. "It wasn't much of a task. Kingsport citizens have been sort of getting together for the 28 years of the modern town's history." Which was modest understatement. Actually, Kingsport offers the most striking example of community planning and community cooperation I have ever heard of.

As we talked, I was looking out of the chairman's office—down at the wide street thick with shoppers and cars, looking out toward the hills dotted with neat homes, toward Civic Circle with its Georgian churches, Georgian public buildings and country-club-like hotel. Over all the scene rose the coughing of steamshovels, the pounding of carpenters' hammers, the noise of building, of expansion, of jobs.

They planned it that way—and they did it themselves, as they have done many other remarkable things.

The city was founded in 1917. The Clinchfield Railroad, built in 1909, had 6,000 acres of land on the flats adjoining the pre-Revolutionary village. The railroad builders hoped to develop a town which in turn would develop freight. An improvement corporation was organized so civic-minded residents could undertake the task. A plan—wide streets, trees, colonial brick architecture, industrial zoning—was drawn for them by one of the nation's outstanding designers, John Nolen. Columbia University styled the schools, the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York, now the Institute of Public Administration, planned the government—the still ultra-modern council-manager plan. And J. Fred Johnson saw that all the ideas were carried out.

*Mr. Stevenson, managing editor of a Washington newspaper, has been a newspaper man ever since 1924 when he started out, at the age of 21, as editor in chief of the *Sedalia* (Missouri) *Capitol.* He went to Washington in 1926 where he was chief of the Washington Bureau of the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin,* representing also the *Kansas City Journal* and the *New York Daily News.* He has worked on the bureaus covering Washington for New Orleans, Houston, Dallas and Milwaukee papers, covered Congress for the United Press, and has been on roving assignments for the *Washington Post* and *Washington Herald.*

Johnson, a mountain boy himself, was put in charge of the Kingsport project, which was largely his idea. Kingsport had no fabulous natural resources, tax concessions, free sites or local wealth to offer industries. Johnson was able to convince employers that his vision of a town where people would like to live and work was sound and practical for all its idealism.

He dictated land-sales policy so that people would not be squeezed by speculators. Thus, even nowadays, prices are not inflated as much as elsewhere. A new brick home sold recently for $4,300; a family can rent one for $47.50 a month.

However, many Kingsport workers believe a man achieves greater dignity, independence and security by owning a small farm. A building and loan association was formed in the early '30's which finances such properties. The countryside has become dotted with thousands of these homesteads—a garden, chickens, maybe two or three acres of tobacco to be cared for in spare time to bring about $300 an acre.

These homesteads constitute one of the reasons why Kingsport was able to weather every depression year without the dole. Even a PWA sewer project languished for lack of common labor.

Johnson envisioned industries so diversified that there would be opportunities both for skilled and unskilled workers, which would sell their varied products in part to each other for mutual benefit, yet which would be independent so that if one faltered the town would not be hard hit. Thus you find the Tennessee Eastman Corporation, gigantic offspring of Kodak, the country's second largest producer of acetate rayon and the largest producer of certain plastics and chemicals, selling a portion of its fifteen major products to other local industries and buying part of theirs. Some of the Borden Mills cotton cloth is processed by the Holliston Mills into window shades and book cloth. Part of the book cloth, along with paper from the Mead Corporation, goes to the Kingsport Press, which calls itself the largest book manufacturing plant in the world. And so on.

Standards for Plants

Each plant had to pass certain tests. Did it offer the bulk of its employment to local labor? Opportunities for worker promotion? Stability? Would it "fit in" with the community?

The last was most important: it was the basis of Johnson's philosophy. "It isn't enough that you treat us 'fair'," he said. "Employers must realize that local citizens are as good as they are. Bosses must be friendly, not just because it's good business but because it's the way people ought to be if they work together. They should give raises when they're earned instead of waiting for complaint. Employers should be leaders and help govern the city because they're part of it. But what they propose should meet with their friends' and neighbors'—their employees'—approval. The bosses must work in their shirtsleeves, leave their office doors open, be ready to listen to any complaint from any employee; in short, they've got to lead—not push. If they lead, their workers

will give them the loyalty they deserve."

The first day a new man arrived to head the Kingsport Press, Johnson told him the firm's taxes had to go up because the schools needed $30,000 more a year. "You want *your* children to have the best, don't you?" he asked. "You want the schools to turn out boys and girls with intelligence to be printers and proofreaders and editors and executives in your own plant? Well, the Press's share of the increased taxes will be $4,000. You've got to lead."

A silk mill was paying substandard wages. "Now, look," Johnson told the other industrialists, "we can't allow the good relations of other employers to be jeopardized this way. Some of you fellows who know about factories ought to look over this mill and see what the trouble is." They did, and the company virtually was ordered out of town. "We have no room for sweatshops," said Johnson.

When he thought it time for a hospital to be built on the site reserved since founding of the city, he prevailed upon the industrialists to contribute $15 for each employee. The employees themselves followed up with 8,500 personal pledges within a few days. "See what you get by leadership?" he reminded. Within a year 6,000 persons were participating in a plan, partly financed by the industries, whereby 75-cent monthly dues paid for up to 21 days' hospitalization annually. Today it covers nearly 27,000 persons.

When an employer was reluctant to stand for election to the city council, Johnson persuaded him to change his mind.

"One trouble in this country," he said, "is that people who want good government can't find the time for it. They'd rather pay politicians. We get better, inexpensive government here only because we do our own governing. Except by serving your turn how do you expect to merit leadership over employees who need the benefits even more than you do but can't afford to serve?"

Council-Manager Government

Johnson is dead now—he died late in 1944—but his scheme has lived. Five drafted $100-a-year councilmen choose one of their number to be the $200 mayor and a full-salaried technical expert as city manager. After two terms the councilmen are replaced by other draftees. The first city manager, William R. Pouder, is now executive secretary of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association. The present city manager, F. L. Cloud, has served as chief administrator since 1923.

Right now the council consists of two realty men, one of whom is mayor, a lumber dealer, an electrician from the Kingsport Press, and an Eastman engineer. Nobody wants the job because it is a lot of work. There are no political plums and no pickings. Any major question generally is decided after a town meeting has expressed the popular sentiment.

That is why Kingsport never has had a scandal; why it could float its last bonds at 1.47 per cent interest, or less than the federal government pays except on short-term notes; why taxes are but $2.25 on a 65 per

cent valuation despite unusual municipal services.

Education and steadily increasing wages brought wider civic horizons, a demand for fuller lives. A library. Playgrounds. More Georgian schools, each with a five-acre park. A recreation department was added to the city government. But most important is the fact that cooperation bred cooperation. The women of several churches united to found an orphanage. The American Legion built and gave the city a swimming pool. Further cooperative efforts brought a stadium, a civic auditorium, a recreation center.

Wages Climb

By 1940 average manufacturing wages had risen to $1,378 in a community where you could belong to the country club for $24 a year and give a dinner party in the hotel sunroom for less than a dollar per guest. Bank deposits had doubled; so had post-office receipts and rail shipments.

With the war virtually every plant expanded. Mountain hollows were combed for around-the-clock workers. Seventeen thousand came to construct the huge ordnance plant. Even after war construction was completed and the boomers moved on, Kingsport in 1944 found it had paid $30,000,000 to 17,913 industrial wage earners, an average of $1,620 apiece. In 1945 it paid 15,784 factory workers $1,900 apiece.

But how to preserve these gains? The problem now not only was to provide immediate postwar livelihood for nearly twice as many workers as Kingsport ever had in peace, but eventual jobs for returning soldiers. An unofficial development commission was formed—an insurance man, a banker, the mayor, the respective heads of Eastman, Kingsport Press, the merchants association, the improvement corporation.

It was decided that Kingsport's greatest need was not more big industry but service industries and small plants to supplement the existing pattern—a furniture factory, mills to process Eastman rayon and plastics, business buildings, new department stores, restaurants and a general face-lifting of the retail district. And long-delayed public works had to be readied to take up any V-J Day slack.

The commission solicited ideas through a full-page newspaper ad and posters on mill bulletin boards. Also in the town meetings. They are real democracy in action. Take E. W. Palmer, president of the Kingsport Press, who was drafted to take charge of all the War Department's wartime printing and publishing. His own business responsibilities reach around the world, but still he finds time for the town meetings. Most of Colonel Palmer's employees will be on hand, as will the Eastman executives and technicians. Little Joe will be there, too—he who cuts the grass in the park. Big and little, they argue out what is to happen next in Kingsport.

When I was there, a committee of local engineers was working nights on blueprints for the new water system. "Why hire expensive consultants?" someone asked at town meeting. "If our engineers here are so good Washington wanted them, why can't we draft them, too?"

Streets were being paved, buildings going up. Stores and offices were waiting only for carpenters to construct them. The Business Women's Club was sponsoring a 'teen-age center which the people had said they wanted. The industrialists and businessmen were assessing themselves $10 for every employee on their rolls to build a new library and endow a chair at a neighboring college as monuments to Johnson, the man whose stubborn, practical idealism built the town.

Many of the industrial plants were expanding or only waiting equipment in order to begin. No workers except the ordnance plant's had been laid off. Employers had met the challenge of peace as easily as they had met the challenge of war.

Union Contracts Signed

They took the coming of the unions in stride. "Sure, I'll sign your union contract if my people want it," was the solution of the Kingsport Press's boss. "But I have one reservation. You cannot supply competent bookmakers; hence, I must be protected in the right to train local boys and girls and make them eligible for membership in your organization."

Union contracts also operate at the motor-transport, bookcloth, pulp and paper, brick and glass plants. But the open shop prevails in other large industries, and peace prevails in all of them.

Working conditions are good. Free vacations. Retirement pay. Free insurance. Wage dividends. Plant cafeterias which feed you heartily at cost or, as at Eastman, a loss on every meal.

At the Press a group from a small department went to the boss about their own particular raise which the government in wartime had refused to grant in full. His reply was announcement of a plan to hike the starting rate 25 per cent and increase every pay check in the plant.

More than 1,000 employees—nearly all compositors, pressmen, binders, designers, artists and editors who had learned their crafts at the Press's own school—were turning out everything from Bibles, encyclopedias and the Book of the Month to textbooks and mystery stories at wage rates which are close to those of New York and Chicago. An entirely new department is being created which is expected to absorb 300 employees who are returning from the war, without displacing any worker hired in wartime.

When shifts changed at Eastman, I watched circus-day crowds pour into the cafeterias and company recreation buildings for free movies or a game of cards, but more than half of the mob hurried to parked autos and waiting buses which would take them to their country homesteads. Eastman, which employed 6,478 at the height of the war, now had more than 7,100 and was adding others daily.

Eastman had another thousand men—or so it seemed—busy all over its 372-acre reservation, digging, tunneling, pouring concrete. It was expanding to provide jobs for 2,350 Eastman men and women who went to war and undetermined thousands who might be willing to work, not at wartime pay, but for still higher wages. The same week Eastman re-

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The Ballot Is Still Too Long!

Despite heartening progress, voters in the City of New York need further simplification of the local governmental setup before control by the political machines can be eliminated.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

THE difficulties of making a democracy that will "democ" are most acute in a huge polyglot city like New York. Carlyle said the problem was "how out of a multitude of knaves to build an honest government," but getting honesty is secondary to getting democracy. If the people really rule, they can get honest government if and when they want it. So we political reformers are always trying to get rid of such things as bosses and machines by fixing up the mechanism of democracy to work without such undemocratic interlopers.

The difficulties of this laudable purpose are partly mechanistic and responsive to mechanistic corrections. We haven't succeeded, but there has been progress and we know what to do to correct the New York City situation. Now, with our recent municipal election fresh in mind, is a good time to look at the problem.

The task presented to New York voters has been purposefully simplified in past years by removal from the elective list of twelve coroners (in 1918), five sheriffs, four registers, and five county clerks; those obscure offices used to provide sinecures and maintenance for party workers, in witness whereof the new appointive sheriff, selected by civil service examination, has been saving us nearly $500,000 a year. Making those offices appointive and subject to civil service examinations throughout has given to party leaders that much less patronage to use for their own entrenchment; bossism and political machines have thus been successfully enfeebled by a purely mechanistic reform.

Recent lengthening of terms of state assemblymen from one to two years left us with none to elect at the 1945 election. That made 67 fewer contests, at least 134 fewer candidates, for an inattentive electorate to inform itself about. The new arrangement took these contests, which were state matters, out of the municipal election and simplified the task of the voters; the shortened list thus came more nearly within the amount of attention and information of average voters.

Still remained the fact that there were more men to be elected than average voters would attempt to remember—the number of offices to be voted for varied in the different districts from nine to sixteen and, for many of the offices, voters consequently depended on party labels for

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guidance. They commonly accepted that guidance without separate scrutiny of the names of the candidates, voting so blindly on minor offices that if a mistake in setting up the voting machines had put the Republican candidates on the Democratic party line, and vice versa, the typical voter, if unwarned, would have been unaware of it.

Take Judges Off Ballot

All these secondary offices were judges. Taking these judges off the ballot is the next step in correcting the mechanism of democracy here.

Let's argue that!

Take away from the people the choosing of judges? Despite superficial appearances, the people at the last election did not select the judges; most of those judges received their congratulations weeks before the election! In the case of some this was because they were nominees of a party which was so dominant in their district, due to multifarious extraneous considerations, that nomination was equivalent to election. In fourteen other cases out of the 26 judiciary contests, they had received the nomination of both major parties. This is supposedly because both party managements joined amicably in recognition of good candidates. Maybe so! But let's look!

In Brooklyn fourteen years ago, nine new Supreme Court judgeships were created. The Republican and Democratic leaders met and divided the new jobs—the Democrats got five, the Republicans four—each camp accepted the choices of the other and all nine nominees went into office by unanimous vote. One of them was the son of the then Democratic county chairman.

This November these men's terms were expiring and eight of these judges again secured the nomination of both parties and thus (aside from age-limit cases) were made certain of a total of 28 years on the bench, while the people were, in practice and fact, idle spectators! So our judges, believe it or not, are in reality appointive now! By whom, it is not given to ordinary voters like me to know! But certainly by inner groups of party leaders whom we never authorized to do it for us. (Party leaders are known as bosses when they belong to the opposite party! And are such in fact if they impose their will on officeholders.)

To detach such dangerous power and influence from party leaders (bosses) is the first objective of political progress. The power, of course, must be put elsewhere, logically into the hands of the state's chief executive with whatever checks may be desired, such as confirmation by the Senate as in the federal system, or confirmation by the people by the Citizens' Union plan. Under this plan the governor makes a nomination and time is left for counter-nomination by petition; if opposition appears, the names go on the voting machines without partisan designation except that the governor's designee will be indicated as "recommended by the governor." Thus the necessary function of the selection and submission of candidates would be taken out of the shadows and made official and responsible and contests might get to be rather rare and limited to cases of

genuine dissatisfaction. The latter compromise is advanced, in efforts now under way, in deference to upstate districts where only one or two judges at a time come up for election and at long intervals; under those simpler conditions the elective system works better than in our crowded scene. Intervention by the governor is not actually new, for the terms are so long that vacancies are rather frequent, whereupon the governor appoints for the remainder of the year and one or both of the parties then commonly nominate the appointee for a full term.

A Municipal Short Ballot

Some such transfer of our judges from unofficial to official origins would leave New York City with a municipal short ballot—only six to elect in each district—four Board of Estimate positions (mayor, comptroller, president of the Council, borough president), district attorney and member of Council. This is close to the classic short ballot principle which specifies five as the maximum number that His Majesty the average voter will probably inform himself about to the point of making up his own ticket without blind dependence on party labels and emblems as to any of the list.

When that day comes, the election day when no Citizens' Union "Voters Directory" will be needed and every voter can tick off on his fingers the names and record of all the candidates he is about to vote for, we shall still be up against the charter's violation of the principle of wieldy districts. A district of up to perhaps 300,000, (150,000 voting, 75,001, or less, necessary for election) can be canvassed effectively and hopefully by a candidate with the aid of only an improvised committee of friends and a modest campaign fund in the face of established party organizations. When the district is very large, like the borough of Brooklyn or the city at large or the state, a plurality of six or seven figures is required for victory and thereby the standing armies of political mercenaries maintained by the Republican and Democratic parties easily retain a practical monopoly of hopeful nominations. We are, I think, the only nation in the world, except Brazil, that attempts to elect from such vast districts. It could hardly be managed without the parties' organizations and at any rate their ability to throw their massed ready-made weight usually settles the ultimate fate of aspirants. This will remain true as long as we elect from such large units. The improved visibility of the proposed shortened list of elective offices will not alter conditions sufficiently to make it feasible for an independent candidate to assemble enough of an organization and campaign fund to make a dent on the consciousness of such a horde in 90 days. That inertia of large bodies was, of course, the insuperable obstacle to Newbold Morris's futile adventure in our election with a nonpartisan third ticket.

The obstacle should be removed by a switch to a form of government that does not include "unwieldy" districts. In wieldy districts the old parties will confront a real risk of defeat by impromptu insurgents if they do not take pains to offer acceptable candidates.

In contrast to this basic clumsy unwieldiness of such large electorates, we have the picture of our City Council chosen from boroughs by proportional representation. Its powers are trivial now but its setup is ideal for independent candidates—any person who can muster the fixed quota of 75,000 votes anywhere in his borough can get elected. Partisan endorsement remains important but independents like Stanley Isaacs and Genevieve Earle can win without partisan blessing—in fact, they did in previous years; in 1943 and 1945 they picked up the Republican endorsements after they had resolved to run anyway. How the politicians hate it! P. R. represents to them an erratic variable! Voters uncontrollably and unpredictably picking and choosing for themselves all over the lot!

Why Not the Manager Plan?

Adoption here of the council-manager plan would turn this feeble Council into an all-powerful board of directors of the city, whereupon the calibre of its members would improve and the public's knowledge of them would sharpen. The Council would appoint and supervise the city manager (who would replace the mayor) and the borough members could choose borough managers (replacing borough presidents). Election at large by the great city or borough units could be done away with.

Until we get the "short ballot" and wieldy districts, we cannot eliminate from our politics the power of the party managements resting on the dead weight of the undiscriminating vote that blindly follows the national party line. We have even seen, for the first time in decades, an illiterate revival in this recent election of the quaint and forgotten cry that we must vote here with national party prestige in mind and ignore our great local issues. Other cities—little ones by the hundreds—make nonpartisan ballots work most happily; the national party machines actually abstain from participation in municipal elections. But Boston has a nonpartisan ballot and there it does not work nonpartisanly at all, for the officers are elected at large, the district (consisting of the whole city) is unwieldy and the mere say-so of the Democratic City Committee in support of a given nominee is all but equivalent to election.

The recent New York City election thus illustrates certain axioms of political science:

The ballot is still too long and resulted in the private appointment of judges;

The districts in most cases are unwieldy, resulting in monopoly of hopeful nominations by the standing organizations.

It remains to explain that political science is law confused by popular participation! Our charter, tradition-bound, fails to cater correctly to the normal behavior of voters and local hope for a democracy that will "democ" rests with us unwearying reformers whose sense of time is necessarily somewhat geologic!

Centralized Financial Control

Creation of Board of Estimate and Taxation to counteract weaknesses in Minneapolis charter brings progress but doubt of its need grows—if city had better basic setup.

By GEORGE M. LINK*

WHAT is the value of the Board of Estimate and Taxation to the city of Minneapolis? What improvements has it brought to the city? Why was it provided in the first place?

The 1919 session of the Minnesota legislature provided that in each city of the first class not operating under a home rule charter "there shall be" a Board of Estimate and Taxation. The law specified the duties of the board and the manner in which it was to be organized, staffed and financed. It also provided that increased authority in the supervision of city expenditures should be exercised by the city comptroller. At that time Minneapolis was the only city of the first class in the state which did not have a home rule charter. Hence the enactment applied to Minneapolis only—was framed for that purpose.

The objective of the proponents of the act was to create for Minneapolis an authority having powers and duties somewhat commensurate with those of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of New York City. The original proposal, presented to the legislature in 1917, did to a substantial degree provide such authority. Opposition of various interests, however, more particularly of the City Council, defeated favorable action at that time. The result was the submission in 1919 of a revised version of the original proposal, giving to the Council a considerable measure of the authority that the prior draft had vested in the board, also taking from the board a considerable proportion of the desired control over appropriations and expenditures. What was desired was an authority that could supervise all financial policies of the city. What was obtained was a much curtailed version of that desire.

Basically, the demand for the authorization of such a board was due to the fact that Minneapolis was insisting on growing into a city of five hundred thousand people while trying to proceed under a weak mayor-council charter that had been designed for a community of five thousand. The city was growing up, but apparently didn't know it. In 1919 the Minneapolis charter was a revised draft of an act of 1879, plus additions made from time to time to provide for a Board of Park Commissioners, a Library Board, a Board of Charities and Corrections and later a Civil Service Commission, in addition to a School Board which had a

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special legislative charter of its own. The two legislative authorizations were included in a single document which was designated the charter of the city.

Charter Limited

Originally the charter provided one governmental body only, a City Council, with a mayor whose major authority pertained to control of the Police Department and who had only the most limited authority over city finance. Later legislative enactments did not change that arrangement. Nor did the adoption of a home rule charter in 1920, including in one document the various legislative acts pertaining to the grants of power to the several governmental bodies of the city, change the fact that the municipality of Minneapolis and the School Board of Minneapolis were separate corporate entities. That charter was virtually a local acceptance of the various legislative acts applying to Minneapolis, hence produced no vital change in governmental procedure in the city.

A common feature of all earlier legislative acts on goverment in Minneapolis and in Hennepin County was the limitation on local control of financial matters. None of the three original local governmental bodies—the Board of County Commissioners, the City Council of Minneapolis or the Board of Education of Minneapolis—was given authority to issue bonds to finance local improvements, or to levy taxes for purposes not specified by the legislature or beyond limits fixed by the legislature.

There was a local body, designated Board of Tax Levy, which determined the maximum amounts that were to be levied for local purposes. This board functioned for both the city and the county, its sessions continuing for a period of only eighteen to twenty-one days during the month of September. The passage of the Board of Estimate and Taxation act did not eliminate that board, it merely restricted its authority to county levies. The period of eighteen to twenty-one days had proved to be a quite inadequate time in which to give proper consideration to the tax needs of the increasing number of local governmental bodies, particularly when expanded programs of public service were being demanded.

This growing burden of determining advisable tax levies, coupled with lack of local authority to borrow funds for improvement projects, led to the proposal for creation of a new local agency having the right to perform such acts and to consider such local transactions as were necessary for proper management of the city's financial affairs.

One major reason for promoting a change was the desire to relieve the state legislature of biennial appeals from Minneapolis for authority to issue bonds for various purposes, including school improvements. Such proposals became so frequent, so numerous and so persistent as to interfere seriously with proper consideration of matters of statewide importance. Hence a demand from legislators that some means be provided to enable Minneapolis to care for its financial needs.

In addition there was developing in the city a strong belief that departmental appropriations were be-

ing made without due regard for economy and without ample consideration of resultant tax burdens. Hence there was a growing conviction that expenditure controls should be strengthened and that appropriations should be supervised by some agency in a position to weigh each appropriation against every other. In other words, Minneapolis needed a greater measure of home rule and of centralized financial control.

Council Too Political

One may well wonder why it was not suggested that the proposed authority be extended to the Council since it was the chief governing body of the city. Apparently there were two major reasons: (1) assumption that a body whose sole duty was to supervise financial matters would better weigh the relative merits and values of financial proposals than would the Council, which was in many respects a competitor of such governmental bodies as the School Board and the Board of Park Commissioners; (2) suspicion that the members of the Council were so prone to indulge in political manipulations that it was inadvisable to give them additional opportunity to indulge in the pleasures and to share in the profits of that type of activity.

There is a fair measure of logic in assuming that the first of such reasons was a vital factor. In many respects the Council was concerned with the activities of the various operating boards, to some extent as a competitor in actual management, at all times as a competitor for public approval for service rendered if for no other reason. That there is reason for believing that political activities of the Council were a factor is to be judged to a great extent by the impetus back of a movement resulting in a legislative act creating a Board of Public Welfare, which was adopted at the same legislative session that authorized the Board of Estimate and Taxation.

For many years there had existed an operating body known as the Board of Charities and Corrections, which supervised the operation of municipal hospitals, the city workhouse, and the dispensing of relief to the poor and needy. At that time the City Council had direct control of the Health Department of the city, both its financing and its operating policies. The act of 1919 creating the Board of Public Welfare not only transferred to that board all the authority formerly exercised by the Board of Charities and Corrections but also jurisdiction over the Health Department.

There was some slight justification for assuming that the operation of a Health Department quite properly belonged under the jurisdiction of the body that was in charge of the city-operated hospitals. There was pronounced evidence, however, that the Health Department, under Council control, had become so steeped in political intrigue that it was more proper to think of it as a breeding ground for political microbes than as an agency for combating disease germs. The importance of suppressing party intrigue being more important, politically at least, than the proper routing of operating functions, it is more than probable that the second of the two reasons stated above was the major

reason for taking from the Council the direct control of the Health Department and was a reason for not placing increased financial control in the hands of the Council.

The suspicion of civic leaders that political expediency rather than the desire for good municipal government dominated the Council had its influence with the proponents of the movement for the creation of the Board of Estimate and Taxation, certainly had weight in the determination that none of the proposed new authority should be placed in the hands of the Council. The success of the Council in defeating the proposal when first submitted to the legislature in 1917, and of measurably reducing the authority to be vested in the board as originally proposed, when it came before the legislature in 1919, gives an indication of its political strength.

Reasons for New Board

There were then two major and one minor reasons for urging the creation of such an agency as the Board of Estimate and Taxation: (1) desire to relieve the legislature of much time-consuming local legislation; (2) desire to centralize and improve financial supervision in the city; (3) suspicion of the political motives of the Council.

The Board of Estimate and Taxation consists of the mayor of the city, city comptroller, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the City Council, one representative from and chosen by the Board of Education, one representative from and chosen by the Board of Park Commissioners, and two representatives of the public, elected for terms of four years each, one each second year. The board has authority to employ a secretary and such other assistants as are necessary to carry on its duties. In brief, such duties include: authorizing maximum limits to permissible tax levies and tax rates and preparation of the annual budget estimate of city requirements; selling and issuing bonds to finance the majority of the improvement projects for which funds are raised by municipal loans, including requirements to finance improvements of school properties and for public relief that cannot be met from current revenues; approval or denial of the issue of bonds for certain local purposes; authorization of the transfer of funds from one operating purpose to another under certain conditions. To prevent interference with the activities of the board by financial restrictions, it was given authority to levy the taxes necessary to provide the annual amounts required to finance such activities.

The initial authority of the board to fix maxima for tax levies and tax rates was somewhat limited by statutory provisions which prescribed fixed limits to levies for certain purposes. Later on the courts of the state imposed a further and more drastic restriction by ruling that the authority of the board did not extend to levies to finance the activities of the public schools of the city. This was a severe limitation as the tax requirements for such purposes were greater than for any other of the 26 purposes for which city taxes were levied. Although that decision reduced the authority of the board over tax levies for school purposes, the

board still retained the authority and the duty of selling bonds to finance permanent improvements for schools. Also, the provision that a member of the school board should be a member of the Board of Estimate and Taxation was continued.

The authority of the board to issue municipal bonds to finance permanent improvements and poor relief is restricted by the requirement that the board can authorize and issue only such bonds as have been previously approved by the City Council. In case the proceeds of the bonds are to be used by some branch of the government other than the Council there must also be a preliminary request from the board in charge of that branch. From time to time there have been other restrictions, which for the most part were the result of legislative enactments vesting authority to issue bonds for certain purposes in either the City Council or the Board of Park Commissioners. The board authority over the issue of bonds for local improvements was restricted to such projects as are financed in part by general taxation, the board having no authority over issues to be financed in full from special assessments.

Rights of the board over transfers of funds were never fully tested. The terms of the legislative act creating the board were quite vague as to such powers, so vague that the city attorney expressed doubt that the board had any real authority. Hence, no definite attempt was made to exercise that jurisdiction. For a time the board did attempt to exercise control over appropriations, expenditures, etc., on the theory that such control was good business and hence would be accepted. That acceptance did exist at the time such controls were installed and continued until the movement was started by the public school interests to break the control of the board over school tax levies. When that effort proved successful the board discontinued all efforts to exercise any authority except that necessary to the performance of the duties clearly vested in the board. In consequence the board has been a less positive influence in city affairs in later years than it was for a few years after its creation. Incidentally, there is a growing conviction, upheld by able attorneys, that the court decision which deprived the board of its jurisdiction over tax levies for school purposes would be reversed were the question again brought before the courts.

Value of Board

From time to time curiosity is evinced as to the value of the Board of Estimate and Taxation to the city, as to the improvements in governmental procedure that have resulted from its authorization, as to whether the board should be continued in the event a new and more modern charter were adopted for the city, and as to the advisability of other cities resorting to a like authority. The answers to all such questions are tied up with the basic reasons for the creation of the board: (1) decentralized financial authority; (2) lack of home rule authority over bond authorizations; (3) weak mayor type of charter. For these reasons there was a positive need for some such agency. As a direct result of the creation of the board, bud-

get and tax procedures have been systematized, definite policies for issuing and financing bonds of the city have been established including the initiation of the policy of employing a single firm of bond attorneys to pass on the legality of all bond issues; the availability of financial data has been materially improved, annual reports being issued regularly. It is admitted that many of these improvements are the results of changes in public attitude and in demands made by public service agencies, also that even if the board had not been in existence many of those improvements would have been brought about by some other agency. Nevertheless, it can hardly be denied that the board led the way in the promotion of such improvements in Minneapolis, often in advance of the adoption of similar procedures in other municipalities.

The question as to whether Minneapolis should retain such an agency as the Board of Estimate and Taxation if a new city charter were adopted by the city, or whether other cities should consider the authorization of such a board, depends on the type of government being considered. Economical city government requires strong central financial control. There are three forms of municipal government that permit such control: the commission form, the strong mayor form, the council-manager form. If one of these is in existence or is being contemplated, there should be little excuse for a separate financial board, except in case of a large city similar to New York which is in fact an aggregation of cities. There will be times in any city when the citizens will complain that efficiency and economy are not being secured. In most instances the fault will lie with the elected officials. The remedy lies with the voters; elect officials who are the proponents of good government, who do not substitute political advantage for the public good. Practical politicians too often, to get what is wanted today, mortgage the future with expensive obligations that cost many times any slight immediate profit.

In conclusion, it is only just to hold that the Board of Estimate and Taxation has been of material benefit to the city of Minneapolis, that the opportunity to be of such benefit was in great measure because of the insistence of the electorate on retaining an antiquated weak mayor type of charter; that no basis exists for assuming that provision should be made for such a board in any modern form of charter that might be proposed for the city; and that the only sound basis for proposing that such a board be authorized for some other city depends on whether the charter does or does not provide for centralized financial control.

WHERE THEY PLANNED FOR PEACE

(Continued from Page 66)

turned to a 40-hour week it began calculating a compensatory pay increase.

These are just samples of Kingsport. This is what private enterprise and real community spirit has accomplished—on its own—in a town where the idea has been to convert, not *back* to peace, but *forward* to peace.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Public and Private Forces Combat Juvenile Delinquency

Comprehensive Solutions Sought Throughout Nation

DEVELOPED to a critical stage during the war, with its widespread dislocations, juvenile delinquency continues to demand fundamental consideration and to be the subject of numerous investigations undertaken and procedures set up or improved in many cities and states throughout the nation. The problem goes to the roots of modern society, involving environmental influences and personal and social standards and ideals as well as administrative and judicial techniques. Remedies tried or proposed have ranged from increased police and recreational activities to coordinated programs of more comprehensive scope.

One of the most recent studies to be reported is an investigation made by the Kentucky Youth Guidance Commission, which was created by the state legislature in 1944. Its report, directed particularly to juvenile law and its administration, emphasizes that concerted effort by the home, school, courts and community is necessary to curb juvenile delinquency. Some of the recommendations are:

Juvenile laws should be recodified, with the view of improving the general welfare of youth by improving conditions under which youth lives, instead of listing a number of proscribed acts with appropriate punishment provided.

Juvenile courts should be provided in each county, separate from the office of county judge, with judges well trained in dealing with delinquent children. Methods should be developed to insure a scientific handling of juvenile problem cases.

A receiving center should be established, operated by the department of welfare, and staffed with psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers and other necessary personnel, to which all juvenile cases should be committed. A child welfare unit, under supervision of the department of welfare, should be established in each county.

Separate institutions should be provided for juvenile delinquents and juvenile criminals.

A statewide recreation program for juveniles should be started as soon as possible. A health program, both mental and physical, should be provided in the public schools.

Youth Bureaus

The Chicago Park District (separate from the Chicago city government) has recently inaugurated a coordinated program, which includes an advisory committee of leading Chicago sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, recreation leaders and police officers, according to the Civil Service Assembly. One result of the committee's work is the establishment of a Youth Bureau in the Division of Police. The staff of the bureau was selected from members of that division who had attended a special institute where the sociological, psychological and legal aspects of delinquency were emphasized. Instruction in its prevention is also given in the regular police training school. A unit for the development of statistics on juvenile problems has been set up.

Cincinnati is attempting to control and prevent juvenile delinquency through the establishment of a Youth Aid Bureau headed by a police captain, with a small staff. Its purposes are:

To provide liaison between the po-

lice, the Bureau of Social Service and the Juvenile Court, assist with youth adjustment, stimulate community interest and activity in child welfare, bring about a better understanding of problems between child and parent, protect, guide and safeguard youth and refer cases to case-work agencies for their ministration.

Among its activities are an educational program consisting of lectures to youths and adults, showing of sound motion pictures on delinquency and participation in agency and youth welfare meetings. Educational pictures, furnished by the Board of Education, are also shown to children in training schools and youth centers in an effort to foster better relationship between youth and law enforcement officers.

Other cities with youth bureaus in police departments include Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo and Detroit.

The women's division in the Cleveland Police Department, staffed with 32 policewomen, deals with all women and children who come to the attention of the police, while a juvenile bureau with 22 patrolmen deals particularly with boys. The Police Department operates four "Boystown" clubs which are doing constructive work in keeping boys interested in worthwhile activities; they are financed through the Boystown Foundation, whose membership includes many wealthy men.

The women's bureau of the New York City Police Department has 168 policewomen, 34 of whom work out of the Juvenile Aid Bureau, which also has two captains, eleven lieutenants and 81 patrolmen. The department operates the Police Athletic League which is designed to keep boys interested in wholesome sports and entertainments. Establishment of a Youth Counsel Bureau in Brooklyn was announced on January 13 by District Attorney McDonald.

In New York State a Youth Commission was created in 1945, on recommendation of Governor Dewey, to assist cities and counties in establishment of youth bureaus and of recreational and educational projects. It includes various state department heads and others appointed by the governor, who called a conference of city, county and town officials for January 24 to discuss expansion of the state's program.

In California a Youth Authority has been functioning for over two years as a centralized and integrated agency empowered to deal with problems of juvenile delinquency and correction of youthful offenders. It has broad and flexible powers to make an extensive diagnosis and classification of the youth and then to submit him to the type of treatment, program or placement considered most likely to benefit him and society. It has sponsored a statewide Youth Council, composed of various organizations of young people in the state, for mutual information and aid in establishing and maintaining recreational and other constructive activities on a democratic basis.

The American Public Welfare Association reports that cases of juvenile delinquency in St. Louis last year were 8.8 per cent below 1944 and contributes this to the vigilance of the Police Department's juvenile divisions and the activities of various other organizations.

Reduction of juvenile delinquency in Birmingham, Alabama, in recent years, in contrast to the national trend of increase, is partially attributed by the American Public Welfare Association to a character education plan in effect in Birmingham schools since 1923.

The program centers around twelve character-building factors, one of which is emphasized throughout the school system each year, thus covering

a pupil's normal career in school. These factors are health, sportsmanship, work, beauty, thrift, courtesy, love of nature, worthy use of leisure, service, scientific curiosity, cooperation and self-reliance. Newspapers, churches, parent-teacher groups and service clubs have cooperated with the schools.

Throughout the country emphasis has been laid on intelligently directed recreation, with more state and local recreational agencies, full-time municipal recreation directors, "teen towns," and other activity centers, together with expanded programs for day care of otherwise neglected children.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The addition of **Tucumcari, New Mexico,** to the council-manager list in December brought the total in the United States to 608 municipalities and nine counties, and the world total to 646, according to the official list of the International City Managers' Association. The association states that the total may be changed slightly as it is considering the qualifications of certain other cities for the official list. The number adopting the plan in 1945 is given as 26 in five of which the change was made by ordinance; in the rest it was incorporated in their charters.

Tucumcari adopted a city manager charter provision on December 21 by a vote of 227 to 120. On December 22 voters of **Carrizo Springs, Texas,** authorized the city commission to appoint a city manager within 60 days, by a vote of 167 to 37. This action and the status and authority of the manager are still to be considered by the ICMA, in connection with its official list.

During 1945 Mason City, Iowa, abandoned its council-manager charter (such action having been voted in 1944), this being the 28th abandonment in 31 years, according to the ICMA. Eight cities that voted on the manager plan in 1945 failed to adopt it.

The charter commission of **Beckley, West Virginia,** which had its organization meeting on October 12, 1945, voted unanimously on January 4 in favor of the council-manager plan. A majority favored nonpartisan election. The number of councilmen, their terms, etc., were to be decided upon later. The complete charter is expected to be ready by February 14 and will be submitted to popular vote. The manager plan has newspaper support.

The city council of **Mullens, West Virginia,** has appointed a committee of representative citizens to investigate the need for charter changes. The Lions Club has presented a resolution to the Council urging adoption of the manager plan and there is other active support for it.

Council-manager government is being advocated in **Portsmouth, New Hampshire.** The *Herald* is promoting discussion of the plan. In December its success in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was described at the annual meeting of the Portsmouth Chamber of Commerce by George A. McLaughlin, president of the Cambridge Civic Association.

The Governmental Affairs Committee of the Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Lansing, Michigan,** is reviving interest in the manager plan for the state capital.

The Taxpayers League of **Louisville, Kentucky,** which has advocated the manager plan for many years, adopted a resolution at its meeting in December urging all civic and labor organizations and women's clubs to cooperate with the league in explaining to the public the advantages of council-manager government.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Jefferson City, Missouri,** inaugurated a campaign for the manager plan by

inviting L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Kansas City, Missouri, and past president of the ICMA, to describe the plan at a meeting in December.

The **Titusville (Florida)** *Star Advocate* has put forward the idea of a manager to take care of the many problems of municipal government.

Mayor Louis E. Jaeckel of **Seal Beach, California,** has suggested the employment of a city manager to handle affairs as a full-time executive.

A drive for the council-manager plan is under way in **Redding, California,** under the sponsorship of the Chamber of Commerce. The *Redding Searchlight* is publicizing the manager plan as the modern form of government for cities of that size.

The **Fairbanks (Alaska)** Junior Chamber of Commerce has summoned representatives of nine other service organizations in Fairbanks, and has formed a Central City Manager Committee to carry on the campaign which is now under way. The petition required by territorial law is being circulated and publicity has been started. The election will be held in April.

Other cities where interest is being shown in the council-manager plan include **Fairfield, Connecticut; Charleston** and **Fairmont, West Virginia; Gaffney, South Carolina; Cudahy, Wisconsin; Natchez, Mississippi; Waxahachie, Texas;** and **Delano, California.** Cities in the **Union of South Africa** are also reported as interested.

Meetings of city managers of five states were held in December with attendance as follows: Florida, 25; Virginia, 23; North Carolina, 13; Oklahoma, 10; and South Carolina, 2.

Manager Cities Review Charters

The city council of **Toledo, Ohio,** on December 19 adopted a motion, presented by Mayor Lloyd E. Roulet, providing for a study by the city's Publicity and Efficiency Commission of Toledo's municipal government under its council-manager-P.R. charter.

Mayor M. R. Rabedioux of **Bay City, Michigan,** has appointed a committee of thirteen citizens including the city manager to study charter revision, at the request of the City Commission. The present charter was adopted 23 years ago and various amendments have been made since.

Recommendations for a new charter for **Phoenix, Arizona,** were submitted to the City Commission in December by the Public Administration Service of Chicago. The present manager charter was adopted in 1913 and has been modified 36 times. Principal defects pointed out include excessive executive power of the mayor, excessive appointive power of the commission, excessive power over personnel by the largely independent Civil Service Board and insufficient authority of the city manager over department heads, personnel and purchasing.

In **Belfast, Maine,** where a manager charter has been in effect since 1930, a special committee is studying the charter with a view to its improvement.

Town and City Reports

The American Institute of Graphic Arts is offering three national traveling exhibitions of modernized, illustrated town and city annual reports to advertising, Rotary and Kiwanis clubs. It has recommended to these clubs the idea of inviting municipal governmental officials and authorities for discussions on the advantages of improved annual reports.

The institute's exhibit has already been shown at the New York Public Library.

In the first Connecticut contest for the best municipal reports 38 entries have been made by towns, boroughs and cities.

New Orleans Police School Conducts First Class

Established early in 1945 as a training division of the Police Department, the New Orleans Police School late in the year held its first class for patrolmen, who are instructed in groups of twenty and receive approximately a hundred hours of class work in a period of three weeks, according to the Civil Service Assembly. The first class consisted of new patrolmen who had qualified in civil service examination and had served probationary periods.

Iowa Cities Get Retirement System and Highway Aid

The General Assembly of Iowa, at its 1945 session, enacted a law providing for a statewide retirement system for municipal employees, effective January 1, 1946. During 1946, 1947 and 1948 the covered employees of the state, counties, cities, towns and school districts will pay one per cent of their salaries (excepting on amounts over $3,000 per year) into the fund, and after 1948, two per cent. The employing body will match the contributions made by employees. The fund is to be administered by the State Employment Security Commission.

This retirement system does not apply to elective officers. According to a district court decision of January 10, teachers may continue under their established retirement system and also enroll under the state plan. This presumably will also be the case for firemen, policemen, municipal utility employees and other groups with retirement plans of their own.

All public employees in Iowa are obtaining federal social security numbers for the state pension and retirement system. Then if these workers ever are taken into the federal social security system, the problem of transferring the records will not be so great.

An employee is not ordinarily eligible for retirement pay until he becomes 65 years of age. When he retires his monthly benefits will be figured as follows: (1) 40 per cent of the first $50 of his monthly salary, or $20; (2) 10 per cent of all between $50 and $250; (3) one per cent of the combined total of the first two items multiplied by the number of years of service. Years of service before the system was adopted do not count.

The monthly pension to the worker is known as his "primary insurance benefit." Payments to wives, dependents and survivors are in addition to the primary benefit payments.

Also at its 1945 session the legislature of Iowa increased the state tax on liquid fuels by one cent per gallon and allocated 40 per cent of the proceeds to the street construction funds of the various cities and towns. The money is to be apportioned to the cities and towns on the basis of population. It is estimated that the municipalities will receive about one dollar per capita from this new source. The constitutionality of this law is being contested in the courts. District Judge Harold D. Evans handed down his decision December 7, 1945, upholding the constitutionality of the act, and an appeal has been made to the Iowa Supreme Court. The money collected through the extra tax is being held in trust by the state in two local banks until the case is decided.

HERMAN H. TRACHSEL
State University of Iowa

Federal Aid Withdrawal Increases Training Charges

The New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials has announced an increase in service charges, effective in June for villages and in September for cities, largely because of cessation of federal aid. It states:

"Withdrawal of federal funds for

training municipal officials and mandatory increases in expenses make it necessary for the conference, beginning 1946, to increase the service charges for cities and villages 10 per cent. . . . The federal government will no longer pay half the expenses of training officials, the Internal Revenue Bureau has ordered us to pay social security, and our contribution to the state retirement is increasing annually. . . . Your conference has been noted for its low service charges and the magnitude of its services."

Four Cities Make Notable Accounting Improvements

Some outstanding accomplishments in simplification and modernization of municipal accounting procedures have recently been reported by the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

Detroit voters have approved a charter amendment to consolidate 34 city operating funds into one general fund. The only separate funds maintained in the future will be for debt service, pensions, public schools and utilities. Accounting procedures will be greatly simplified by this action.

San Diego, California, has taken several steps to improve its accounting procedure. Revenues and other cash receipts are posted and proven daily. The payroll system has been completely mechanized and a payroll manual written. Standard classifications of accounts have been adopted.

Accounting procedures of Austin, Texas, have been completely revised during the past year. The general accounting setup has been converted to machine accounting. Standard classifications in several fields have been adopted. A central payroll and timekeeping system has been installed. A combination appropriation, expenditure and encumbrance ledger has been set up. Materials at the central stores have been catalogued and are controlled by the central office of the director of finance. New monthly reports show expenditures, appropriations, unexpended balances and unencumbered balances. A unit tax ledger card system has been developed for real estate taxes with the complete tax history of each parcel on a single card.

Another Texas city, Kerrville, has completely revised utility accounting procedures so that one bill includes the charges for water, sewer, garbage and gas, and accounts receivable ledgers are eliminated. When a new bookkeeping machine which has been ordered has been installed, the proof sheets will permit the accumulation of total water consumed, total footage of gas sold, total charges for water, gas, sewer and garbage, as well as controls over all bills.

Public Service Training at University of Maine

The University of Maine, at Orono, has announced two-year, four-year and five-year courses in public management, designed to fit men and women for governmental service in town, city, state and federal fields.

The two-year course, designed especially for veterans, is open to students with previous college work or governmental experience, and trains for city and town managerships in Maine and elsewhere.

The four-year course leads to a bachelor's degree in public management, with options for specializing in financial administration, foreign service, city management, etc.

The five-year course combines engineering and public management; a bachelor's degree in civil engineering is obtainable after four years, and completion of the fifth year yields a master's degree in public management. Two summers of internship in state or local government are also required of the five-year students.

Researcher's Digest

Subsistence Homesteads in Alabama Studied

Public Housing in Country for City Workers Appraised

AT THE instigation of the Federal Housing Authority in Birmingham, the Bureau of **Public Administration of the University of Alabama** (Roscoe C. Martin, director) undertook about a year ago to survey subsistence homesteads projects in Jefferson and Walker Counties in that state. Dr. Paul W. Wager, professor of political science and research professor in the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, was selected to undertake the study. The result is *One Foot on the Soil,* a volume of 245 pages, written by Dr. Wager and published by the bureau.

Major objectives of the survey were to determine (1) potentialities and limitations of a pattern of life which combines industrial employment with part-time farming, (2) extent to which subsistence homesteads enhance the security and improve the economic position of industrial and white collar workers, (3) whether the social advantages warrant their development as a public enterprise, with or without subsidy, and (4) if the government is to promote homes of this type, whether they should be built on a community-wide basis.

Subsistence homesteads were originated during depression days with the idea of coupling decentralized industry with part-time farming as a security measure—an organized "back-to-the-land" movement.

Dr. Wager, as well as his assistants, spent many weeks interviewing men and women living on subsistence homesteads. He concluded that "subsistence homesteads lie in the still highly controversial field of suburban-rural housing."

Commendable features include a wholesome spirit of neighborliness and informal cooperation, good will between homesteaders and natives, the neat appearance of most homesteads, improved financial condition of the homesteaders, and the fact that homestead boards function well. Disappointing conditions which prevail include the presence of a considerable number of families with little interest in the project, a tendency to depend on hired Negro labor to do the hard work, little community spirit, unsuccessful experience in cooperative endeavors. A series of recommendations are listed in the last chapter.

"All in all," says Dr. Wager, "the principles which the Division of Subsistence Homesteads announced that it would follow appear to have been generally sound, and it is unfortunate that they were never fully tested. When the subsistence homesteads projects became absorbed into a program which emphasized work relief and were transferred to the Resettlement Administration, new administrative procedures and fiscal policies were adopted. While the ultimate objectives were not sacrificed, the means of attaining them were so altered that the full value of the experiment was not realized. Much has been learned, though it must be concluded that the subsistence homesteads experience has not established beyond question the feasibility of public housing in the country for city workers."

Population Trends

Another publication of the Alabama bureau is *Alabama's People* (64 pages), by Lillian Worley. Covered are trends, population in nation, region and state; in the state and counties; in cities and other incorporated places. Estimates

of future population growth are set forth. The last chapter describes the impact of the war upon Alabama's population.

Educated Voters

The **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research,** of which H. L. Brittain is managing director, suggests in its *White Paper* that the city should provide more information on its activities previous to election day so that the electors may have "some food for thought and discussion as a basis for electoral reform. . . . "After all," says the *White Paper,* "what is wanted is not more voters but a greater proportion of interested voters." It is suggested that the following documents might well be issued before the annual election: a statement of expenditures for the current year, actual for ten months, estimated for two months; a summary of departmental activities for the first ten months in the year; an itemized statement of proposed expenditures and anticipated revenue.

* * *

Research for Better Government

"Through research and the reporting of its findings and recommendations to officials and citizens, the **Bureau of Municipal Research** works for better city government in **Philadelphia,**" announces the bureau in an issue of *Citizens' Business* prepared for the benefit of new readers. In its contacts with officials, the bureau emphasizes, it "seeks to work in cooperation with, not in opposition to, the officials of the city; in its service to citizens, the bureau seeks to keep them informed about their government and to furnish them with technical aid on civic questions. William C. Beyer is director.

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New Legislative Council Reports

Two new reports from the Research Department of the **Illinois Legislative Council** include *Adult Education in Illinois* (54 pages) and *Sterilization Laws* (27 pages). In the first-mentioned volume the council discusses adult education in all its phases as it is practiced in public schools, colleges and universities, libraries, in various state departments, prisons, etc. A resume of the programs of certain other states is also presented. In the second volume the laws of all the states are discussed.

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Newark Bureau Re-established

The **Newark Bureau of Municipal Research,** which has been inoperative for several years, will be re-established in February with Henry W. Connor as director, according to a recent announcement.

Mr. Connor, who was graduated *cum laude* from Brown University and also studied at Oxford University, served successively as research assistant with the Springfield Taxpayers' Association, executive secretary of the Haverhill Taxpayers' Association, executive director of the Lowell Taxpayers' Association, and executive director of the Springfield Taxpayers' Association. He is leaving the last named position.

Howard G. Fishack, former director of the Newark Bureau, is now director of field training for the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

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City Hampers Master Plan

Despite the fact that in 1936 voters of Milwaukee authorized and directed the transfer of their parks to the county by a three-to-one vote, some 232 acres owned by the city are still outside the central park system. Unless the parks and parkways still owned by Milwaukee are promptly transferred to the county, says the **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee,** of which Norman N. Gill is executive director, the carrying out of the county's postwar master plan will be hampered.

* * *

Unconstitutional Legislation

The **Bureau of Government Research of the Department of Government,**

Indiana University, has issued reprints of an article by Oliver P. Field, of the university, on "Unconstitutional Legislation by Congress." The article appeared originally in the February 1945 issue of the *American Political Science Review.* The study is a supplement to *Unconstitutional Legislation in Ten Selected States,* also by Mr. Field, which the bureau published in 1943.

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School Tuition Fees for Nonresidents

The **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** has made a study of the "true average cost per pupil of operating the city schools," and comes to the conclusion that such cost is materially greater than the tuition fees charged for out-of-town pupils. It suggests an increase in such charges from $60 to over $140 for high school pupils and a somewhat smaller increase for junior high school pupils. There are over five hundred out-of-town pupils now attending Schenectady schools.

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Kansas Study

Railroad Commission to Corporation Commission, A Study in Kansas Administrative History (108 pages) was written by Edwin O. Stene, associate professor of political science at the University of Kansas, and published by the university's **Bureau of Government Research,** Ethan P. Allen, director. * * *

Research Group Reports

A Year of Citizen Action in the Improvement of Government is the title of the report of the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research,** Lennox L. Moak, executive director, on its activities for 1944-1945. Among the matters dealt with by the bureau were the Louisiana Board of Liquidation, amendment of the state constitution, state highway financing, trends in major state revenues, New Orleans general fund financing, city pension problems and postwar plans.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

"Cleveland at the Crossroads"

Municipal Expert Cites Problems to Civic Group

IN HIS address before the annual meeting of the **Cleveland Citizens League,** Dr. Thomas H. Reed, who with Mrs. Reed is conducting a financial study of the Cleveland area, discusses the problems facing Cleveland and Cuyahoga County. The study, by the National Municipal League's Consultant service, is sponsored by the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research, John E. Bebout, director, and the Metropolitan Cleveland Development Council.

"Home rule," Dr. Reed said, "is partly a state of mind," and warned against a constant running to Washington and Columbus for help. He charged that home rule powers have been whittled away "by legislative acts, by the decisions of a reactionary judiciary, and even by an amendment of the state constitution by vote of the people themselves. It is the business of Cleveland to unite with other cities of the state in defense of the principles of home rule," he said.

One of the greatest blows dealt to home rule, Dr. Reed feels, was the "stab in the back" involved in adoption of the 10-mill tax rate limitation which he termed a "complete and total failure. It has not kept taxes down but it has hamstrung the activities of most municipalities."

Dr. Reed warned against continued deferring of maintenance of public properties, "the first thing to suffer whenever there is any financial stringency." He said that while the city

has been balancing its budgets "very prettily for several years, as far as operation in the narrow sense of the term is concerned, if you include maintenance you have been piling up a very sizable deficit." At least $8,000,000 of the $68,000,000 postwar program of the Cleveland Planning Commission is for "just ordinary deferred maintenance," he said.

On the bright side of the ledger, Dr. Reed pointed out that taxes are middle range and that "by a little wise financial management it will be possible to handle the matter of increasing operating levies and new bond issues for public improvements without much increase, if any, in the present tax rate."

The metropolitan area problem has plagued the city for a long time, said Dr. Reed. Listing some of the difficulties in the way of its solution—such as reluctance of both taxpayer and officeholder in communities outside Cleveland to "be mixed up in the affairs of Cleveland," and the decision of the Supreme Court which blocked adoption of a new charter extending the powers of the county—Dr. Reed suggested that the way to attack the metropolitan problem is function by function. "Functional consolidation is possible," he said, "because it does not wipe out any unit of government. It does not deprive any considerable number of people of their offices. It does not interfere with the operation of political parties." He urged that the first step toward functional consolidation should be the concentration of all "welfare" activities under county management with adequate support from the state for those which are made mandatory on counties by state law.

Citizens Planning Council Reports for Kansas City Area

The **Citizens' Planning Council of Greater Kansas City** has issued a report prepared by Raymond W. Hall, chairman of the Board of Governors, on its first year of operation.

The council is composed of men and women from every section of the five counties—Platte, Clay, and Jackson in Missouri, and Johnson and Wyandotte in Kansas—which form what is known as the Greater Kansas City area. Cities involved include Kansas City, Kansas, and Kansas City, North Kansas City and Independence, Missouri. Seven major committees cover survey and research, transportation, business and industry, culture and recreation, social welfare, legislation and taxation, and urban development and conservation. These committes in turn have 30 subcommittees designed to cover all phases of development in the area. Other groups will be formed as new problems appear. According to the report the council is "a civic, non-profit group designed for the purpose of studying all problems relating to the welfare and growth of the area." In referring to the need for such a group the report comments that "the plans of contiguous communities or populated sections must be integrated today to a degree never before thought necessary. And this . . . can only be done by an organization of citizens such as this, designed to study the various problems involved and arrive at conclusions based on the welfare of all the people living in the area."

New York Citizens Union Announces Legislative Program

Simultaneously with the opening of the 1946 session of the New York State legislature, George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the **Citizens Union of New York City,** announced his organization's legislative program.

In listing its proposals for housing legislation the union said that "the housing shortage crisis and related questions are the most pressing chal-

lenge. It should and can be met with effective action which does not break down permanent standards of safety or complicate the almost equally pressing problem of slum clearance." Chief among the recommendations are provisions for funds to develop an adequate housing program, revision of the Redevelopment Corporations Law to provide proper safeguards of public interests, emergency authorization for the city's Housing Authority to condemn and put in repair existing unused buildings and to construct new unsubsidized housing with a preference for returning veterans and their families. The union supports state rent control to take effect when federal controls are removed, continuation for another year of commercial rent control in New York City, and a complete redrafting of the present multiple dwelling law to clarify its language and to provide more adequate standards for new housing, with temporary modification to permit emergency housing under certain conditions.

In election reforms, the union's program asks provision for a "Massachusetts ballot" arrangement on the voting machines to do away with party rows; permanent personal registration; power to the legislature for wide discretion in granting absentee voting rights; repeal of the law prohibiting primary voters from nominating by petition; simplification of the petition procedure for nominations, designations and requests for referenda; permission for nomination by a small number of registered voters, either by personal appearance at board of elections headquarters or by petition filed with a reasonable specified deposit of money (to be returned if candidate polls a specified minimum of votes); qualifying examinations for election inspectors, clerks and voting machine custodians with fingerprinting for city election inspectors; voting machines or a central count for contested primaries; provision for the method of taking signatures of voters at every election throughout the state and at registration when personal registration is required; authority for the governor to extend voting hours of any election by proclamation.

In education, the union made public an eight-point program which includes an increase in the tax income available to the New York City Board of Education; state aid for city colleges for teacher training; removal of restriction on budget requests for city colleges by the Board of Higher Education; increased state aid for libraries; abolition of the system of permanent substitutes in New York City schools; putting custodial workers under civil service; placing appointments in the city's Attendance Bureau under the superintendent of schools.

Other proposals include passage of amendment to permit constitutional amendments by petition and popular vote; prohibition of changes in the terms of elective officers by the local representative body without referendum; removal of the necessity of submitting P. R. separately if that method of election is included in a new charter; provision for alternative methods of reapportionment in case the legislature fails to act; establishment of a division of planned development in the state executive department with a state capital budget and a six-year capital plan; amendment of the civil service law to give effect to the new veterans' preference amendment with the least possible damage to the merit system; prohibition of pension benefits out of public funds to public officers or employees guilty of corrupt practices and other safeguards as to pensions; a system of state health insurance, extension of unemployment insurance to all workers not now covered, and extension of compulsory workmen's compen-

sation to full-time domestic workers, public employees and employees of educational and charitable organizations; control of outdoor advertising.

The union is represented at the State Capitol during the entire legislative session.

Local Government Survival

The **North Dakota Taxpayers' Association**, of which Clara A. Kane is acting secretary, editorializes in *The North Dakota Taxpayer* on the importance of local government in a democracy. "Too often citizens, exasperated by the real or fancied ineffectiveness of their city, county or state," says the editorial, "welcome the advances of the Washington bureaucrats. Sometimes they even voluntarily rush to Washington for help. The remedy for ills of local administration lies at home. Citizens have it in their power to insist on efficient and economical administration and generally they will obtain cooperation from local officials. In the few instances where local authorities fail or refuse to cooperate, there is always the remedy at the polls to select officials who will.

"The way to preserve democratic institutions in America is to strengthen local government, eliminate obsolete and wasteful practices, and insist on efficient and economical administration."

* * *

Centennial

"If the Common Council will redistrict the city wards in *1946*, the 1947 Wisconsin legislature will be enabled to take such redistricting as the basis for the boundaries of Milwaukee's state assembly and county supervisor districts," says the **Citizens Bureau of Milwaukee**, whose executive director is Norman L. Gill. "The city of Milwaukee voters could then be fairly represented in the state legislature, county board and common council. The redistricting would be effective as of the next election of aldermen and supervisors, which will take place in April of *1948*. Such cooperative action by the city and state would be a timely birthday gift to the community, as the city of Milwaukee will be 100 years old in 1946 and the state of Wisconsin will celebrate its 100th anniversary in 1948."

* * *

Chicago Discussion Groups

In order to help promote club objectives, the **Public Affairs Committee of the Chicago Union League Club** has organized five new discussion groups. Matthew Mills, chairman of the committee, has appointed the following chairmen: Citizenship in Action Group, Edward M. Burke; Public Administrators Group, Edmund J. Brennan; Municipal Officials Group, Harry A. Brinkman; Tax Administration Group, Harold J. Clark; School Board Members Group, George L. Seaton. Civic committees of the club and their chairmen include: City Manager Plan Committee, H. Barry McCormick; Congressional Redistricting Committee, Frederick A. Virkus; Elections Committee, David J. Kadyk; Postwar Projects Committee, George I. Haight; Postwar Reconstruction Program; Joshua D'Esposito; Public Administration Committee, Harland C. Stockwell; Public Finance Committee, Paul E. Farrier; Race Relations Committee, Erwin W. Roemer; Schools Committee, George L. Seaton; Special Events Committee, Joseph H. Finn; and Transportation Committee, Thomas E. Bond.

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Women's Foundation Pamphlets

In addition to *The Road to Community Reorganization* discussed here in December, the **Women's Foundation** has issued a number of pamphlets dealing particularly with women and citizenship: *Women's Opportunities and Responsibilities in Citizenship* (22 pages), *The Place of the Family in American*

Life (16 pages), *Gainfully Employed Women and the Home* (15 pages), *Improved Family Living Through Improved Housing* (28 pages), and *Doorway to Religion in Family Living* (32 pages). Each study has been prepared by a committee of the foundation, of which Dr. Lucile Allen is executive secretary.

* * *

Civic Group Reviews Its Goals

A special planning committee appointed by its Board of Directors, has reviewed the official program adopted by the **Minneapolis Civic Council** in 1938 with a view to bringing it up to date. Professor William Anderson, of the University of Minnesota, president of the **Minneapolis Research Bureau,** is chairman. After sixteen meetings the committee drafted a report covering major civic problems confronting the city. It also made an intensive study of the activities of the council's seven operating agencies to determine what they could do to help "make Minneapolis a better city in which to work and live." First draft of the program, "Goals for Minneapolis," has been adopted and submitted to the Board of Directors. Allen H. Seed, Jr., is executive vice president of the council.

* * *

Readable Reports Get Attention

Official recognition, greater citizen interest, better government, even influence on industrial development—these are some of the rewards which have come to those cities and towns showing an aggressive interest in the improvement of their annual reports, suggests the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Carter W. Atkins, executive director, in a recent bulletin. Two years ago the council issued *Modernizing Municipal Reports* and since that time the organization has been consulted frequently by boards of finance and public officials for aid in preparing better town reports. "It is stimulating to those interested in better reporting," says the council, "to see the enthusiasm with which so many citizens have responded to an improved and carefully prepared report. . . . The preservation of our whole system of democratic government rests upon good, efficient and well managed towns and cities. To the extent that informed citizens actively participate in the operation of their town, local self-government in Connecticut will be strengthened and improved. The town report which contributes to that end is a sound investment."

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Citizen Finance Group Reports

The **Los Angeles Citizens Revenue and Taxation Committee,** created at the request of the Los Angeles City Council to study the city's needs and to recommend ways and means of financing them, has made its first report. The study appears in *The Tax Digest* for December, published by the **California Taxpayers' Association.** The committee has divided its activities into two parts: (1) the immediate budgetary problem for 1945-46, and, (2) the long range revenue problem from 1946-47 to 1949-50. The report just published deals only with the first of these projects. Willard W. Keith is chairman of the committee.

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Postwar Tax Policies

The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations,** Norman MacDonald, director, has issued *Postwar Tax Policies,* a twelve-page leaflet containing addresses delivered before its fourteenth annual meeting. Speakers included Thomas H. Buckley, chairman of the Massachusetts Commission on Administration and Finance; Reginald W. Bird, president of the federation; Roswell Magill, former under-secretary of the Treasury; and Harold Knutson, member of Congress from Minnesota.

County and Township
Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Intergovernmental Relations Councils Study Counties

Aided by Spelman Fund in Three Local Experiments

OUT OF discussions begun in 1942 among top federal administrators there has developed the Councils on Intergovernmental Relations designed to promote more harmonious and effective working relationships among federal, state and local governments. Three counties already have been selected as demonstration areas.[1]

The discussions originally were undertaken by Harold D. Smith, U. S. budget director; M. T. Wilson, extension service director, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Paul V. McNutt, Federal Security Agency administrator; Vice President Henry Wallace; and other top administrators in the federal service. Subsequently, Acting Chairman Smith submitted a memorandum to President Roosevelt on the project. The latter expressed great interest.

In October 1942 the plan was submitted to the trustees of the Spelman Fund who approved it and allotted sufficient funds to finance the experiment in three local areas in the United States. No other funds were employed in the project.

The Federal Council on Intergovernmental Relations set up certain criteria for selecting the states and counties to serve as demonstration areas.

The general criteria regarding states were that:

1. They be "typical" of several sections of the United States;
2. Their administration should be positively and favorably inclined toward the undertaking;
3. Their governors should have demonstrated through past performance a marked interest in administrative improvement and a cooperative attitude toward federal and local levels of government; and that
4. The state laws permit a maximum of local government experimentation and that there should be a positive evidence on the part of the governors and the principal state officials to delegate such authority and responsibility to a local group as might be necessary to permit experimentation.

The general criteria which applied to selection of counties were that:

1. They should have a population between 25,000 and 125,000;
2. They should have a good urban-rural balance;
3. They should have shown a rising population trend over the past 50 years;
4. They should have an above-average rating of soil productivity; and
5. There should be evidence of marked interest in, and understanding of, the programs of local public officials.

Blue Earth County, Minnesota, Reports

Blue Earth County, Minnesota, one of the three counties selected by the Federal Council on Intergovernmental Relations as an experimental area, has issued a progress report based on two years of study and planning on problems of intergovernmental cooperation. In a 35-page printed report entitled *Democracy Trains Its Microscope on Government in Blue Earth County, Minnesota,* the local council proposed the methods of preserving democracy at the "grass roots."

To guide itself in the more specific recommendations, the Blue Earth

[1] See the REVIEW, September 1945, p. 420.

County Council on Intergovernmental Relations adopted three principles:

1. The way to achieve harmony among governmental groups in the community would be through the establishment of some kind of intergovernmental organization;

2. This intergovernmental body would become "just another committee" unless it were assigned a specific task which would be clearly significant to its purpose; and

3. Because of the delicate relationships which inhere in our federal system and in our tradition of self-government, any proposal for action would have to be based on the voluntary cooperation of the officials and the governing bodies concerned, and would have to have the enthusiastic support of the community.

It proposed that the intergovernmental organization be headed by a joint committee on intergovernmental affairs composed of representatives of the county, the major city and the major school district. A primary task would be that of developing a community budget revealing the expenditure of all public funds in the county by all units of government ranging from school districts to the federal government.

New Charter Urged for Santa Clara County, California

The 1944 Santa Clara County, California, grand jury recently was discharged from further duties, but in its final report it reiterated the need for a charter form of county government to replace the existing "obsolete, politically-circumscribed and inadequately supervised type of government." It recommended also that the almshouse be abolished, that the county hospital and health departments be reorganized, and that county officials, especially supervisors and the sheriff, desist from inefficient and illegal practices.

Consolidation in Birmingham Area Studied by Commission

For some years past members of the Jefferson County delegation in the Alabama legislature have considered the proposition of consolidating city and county functions in those areas where such a consolidation would prove feasible.[1] Some three years ago the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama, at the request of the Jefferson County delegation, conducted a survey to estimate the feasibility of consolidation of the county and city school systems in Birmingham and Jefferson County. During the war the problems of the Birmingham metropolitan district have grown in scope and intensity, with the result that new thought has been given to possible consolidation of governmental functions within the district.

The 1945 session of the legislature passed an act creating a commission to study the question of city-county consolidation in the county with the active support of the entire Jefferson County delegation. Late in 1945 the commission met and organized, selected President Harwell G. Davis of Howard University, Birmingham, as its chairman, and chose as its secretary Roscoe C. Martin, director of the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama. Further developments in connection with the conduct of the survey await employment of the necessary research personnel. The commission is charged in the law to report its findings to the 1947 session of the legislature.

Joseph M. Ray, *Assistant Director*
Bureau of Public Administration
University of Alabama

[1] See the Review, September 1945, page 421, and November 1945, page 519.

Taxation and Finance
Edited by Wade S. Smith

New York City Wants Sales Tax to Rehabilitate Subways

New Mayor Asks Creation of Two More Authorities

ONE OF the first acts of New York City's new mayor, William O'Dwyer, was a petition to State Comptroller Frank Moore, chairman of the New York State Municipal Finance Commission, outlining the administration's requests for new revenues. Chief among the requests was one that the city sales tax, reduced from 2 per cent to 1 per cent in October 1941, be restored to 2 per cent for a three-year period, the proceeds of the extra cent per hundred to go into a special fund to help finance rehabilitation of the city subway system.

New York City's transit system, which for many years has never more than barely met the public's convenience and has been far from self-supporting on its five-cent fare, has deteriorated badly during the war period. To meet minimum service and safety requirements, improvements of between $200,000,000 and $300,000,000 are necessary, the precise amount depending on what improvements are to be undertaken and whether the subway system's old power plants are to be modernized or abandoned. The extra cent of the sales tax is estimated to yield about $211,000,000 for the program over the three-year period.

Mayor O'Dwyer cited, as the most pressing reason for asking the special sales tax financing for the service enterprise, the need for leaving as much as possible of the city's general borrowing power unencumbered. (It appears the new administration is as yet unwilling to tackle any increase in the five-cent fare.)

Two moves to release part of the city's borrowing power were also made by the new mayor, who asked that a New York City Airport Authority and a West Side Market Authority be created to take over the financing of the new Idlewild Airport and the proposed replacement of the Washington Market.

The proposal to finance Idlewild by authority revenue bonds and set up an authority to handle the market took shape in the closing days of the LaGuardia administration. Avowedly at the insistence of Park Commissioner Robert Moses, the city's authority-conscious builder who had already been selected by the new mayor as public works expediter, the Board of Estimate in mid-December slashed from the LaGuardia 1945-46 capital budget $45,000,000 for Idlewild and $10,000,000 for the market, thereby making impossible the issuance of general city bonds of those amounts during the 1945-46 fiscal period.

Making Idlewild Airport a self-supporting institution had been one of the retiring mayor's most persistent wishes, and the Moses-O'Dwyer proposal to place the project on an authority basis immediately drew pleas from LaGuardia that the incoming administration reconsider. The mayor not only objected to the lessened control by the city which would result from authority financing, but pointed out that contracts for space, services, etc., on which the project's proposed self-sustaining status was projected, might not support the added cost of authority revenue bonds as compared with the cost of having the city borrow the money on its full faith and credit.

While the new administration is probably going to have its way in the matter of the Idlewild financing, it is

to be noted that the money for the project is certain to cost more via that medium. Recent quotations on New York City general bonds show these obligations more acceptable to investors than authority revenue bonds. For example, to select issues as nearly comparable as possible, city general bonds bearing 3 per cent interest and due January 1977 were quoted recently at 119¼ bid, 120¼ asked, while an almost identical bond of the Port of New York Authority, 3's due December 1976, were quoted 109¼ bid, 110¼ asked. Clearly, even should the proposed airport authority be able to borrow on terms as good as the seasoned Port Authority, it would do so on less favorable terms than could the city itself.

In addition to requesting the emergency financing for the transit system and the creation of the two new authorities, Mayor O'Dwyer asked the state to renew for three-year periods (rather than on the recent year-to-year basis) several special and emergency levies. These include the business excise tax yielding about $10,000,000 annually, the conduit tax yielding about $500,000, and the use tax yielding about $6,000,000. He asked also that the state turn over to the city the entire amount of the stock transfer tax collected in New York City, an estimated $20,000,000 annually on the average, and half the state racing revenues collected in the city, estimated also at about $20,000,000 annually.

Debt Policy Pays Off for San Francisco

Advocates of the value of sound debt policy were handed a classic good example to point to when the city of San Francisco marketed $9,000,000 airport and sewer bonds on January 7, 1946, at a net interest cost of only 54/100 of one per cent.

This extremely low cost of borrowing, of course, reflects in part the fact that San Francisco's low debt and record of good fiscal management help make it a prime municipal credit, and in part the fact that the terms for municipal borrowing generally are extremely favorable now. But mostly it reflects the fact that the city had, in borrowing money in earlier years, arranged maturities on its outstanding obligations so it could schedule the new bonds to mature as five-year serials, due in approximately equal installments in the years 1946 through 1950.

The new bonds naturally increase annual requirements over what they would otherwise have been, but considering the size of the issue the city faces no large over-all increase. Maturities in the current fiscal year on tax-supported obligations total $3,742,000; the peak inclusive of the new bonds will be in 1948-49, at $4,680,000, only $938,000 above this year's maturity. There remain $26,800,000 city improvement bonds authorized but unissued, but maturities on outstanding bonds drop so rapidly after 1950-51 that with maturities only moderately longer than those on the bonds recently issued the prospective maturity schedule can be advantageously arranged without any sizeable peaks to cause difficulties at budget-making time.

California Cities Levy Business License Tax

The importance of municipal business license taxes as a source of municipal revenue in California has recently been reported by the American Municipal Association.

A study of 35 of the 45 cities in Los Angeles County indicates that 5.42 per cent of 1944-45 general fund revenues is derived from licenses of various kinds including the business license tax.

At one end of the scale is Redondo

Beach, deriving 24 per cent of general fund revenues from licenses and reporting a per capita yield of $2.19. At the other end of the scale is El Segundo which obtains 1.46 per cent of the general fund revenues from this source, a per capita yield of 52 cents.

Among cities throughout California under 10,000 population with high per capita yields from business license taxes during 1943-44 are Culver City, $1.53; Napa, $1.77; Paso Robles, $2.50; San Louis Obispo, $1.99; San Rafael, $1.60, and Torrance, $1.64. Huntington Beach, in the 10,000 to 25,000 population group, has a per capita yield from business licenses of $2.52. Fresno in the population group over 50,000 has a per capita yield of $2.51.

Illustrative of business license rates schedules is that of Culver City. On retailing, jobbing and wholesaling; arts, crafts and trades; building, contracting and subcontracting; trucking and transportation Culver City levies a business license tax of six dollars per annum on gross receipts of $5,000 or less. It levies a 25 cent tax for each additional $1,000 of gross receipts up to $100,000; ten cents for each additional $1,000 of gross receipts over $100,000.

State Budget Officers Form National Organization

The National Association of State Budget Officers was organized at a recent meeting in Chicago, according to the Council of State Governments which was designated as the secretariat of the association. The purpose of the new organization is to improve budget administration in the states. Policies and problems of budget administration were discussed at the meeting, especially tax programs, existing tax rates, and state revenues that can be expected with the return to a peacetime economy. Also discussed were the organization, planning and timing of public works, the acquisition and disposal of surplus war property, state and local cooperation primarily with respect to state financial grants to political subdivisions, and state supervision of cooperative governmental services.

Supreme Court Upholds U. S. Excise on State-Bottled Water

In a decision handed down January 14, the United States Supreme Court upheld a district court ruling that bottled water produced by the Saratoga Springs Authority, an instrumentality of the State of New York, is subject to the federal excise tax. Although application of such a tax to proprietary enterprises operated by the states is not new—the state liquor monopolies pay federal liquor taxes, for example—the case had attracted wide attention because of the court's action last fall in asking comprehensive briefs on taxability of proprietary enterprises, and some observers expected the whole subject of intergovernmental tax immunity to be re-examined. The decision is reported to have been within the narrow limits of the case, although the text is not yet available for study.

Snuff

An Associated Press dispatch from the nation's capital on the last day of 1945 indicated that local officials in some communities at least may be overlooking a potentially lucrative miscellaneous revenue. It reported November sales of snuff at nearly four million pounds, yielding the U. S. Treasury $674,940 from the federal tax of 18 cents per pound. The south was described as the best customer for snuff, but New England was said to be a steady customer, too.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Civic Slate Wins in Cambridge

Elections in Hamilton and Boulder, Colorado

THE third election in Cambridge, Massachusetts, under its council-manager-P.R. charter (Plan E) was held on November 6, 1945.

The Cambridge Committee for Plan E, the citizens' group instrumental in obtaining the adoption of the Plan E charter and active in endorsing candidates in the two previous elections, had ceased to function after the election in 1943, reserving its future activities until the Plan E charter should be in danger. In July 1945 a new citizens' committee, the Cambridge Civic Association, was formed for political action and the old Cambridge Taxpayers Association was reorganized as the Cambridge Research Association for all types of civic research, both designed for year-round activities. The two associations have partially interlocking directorates and the same man serves as president of both. The Cambridge Civic Association board includes many of the leading actors in the Committee for Plan E.[1]

The CCA commenced its activities too late to take any real part in choosing and persuading candidates to file papers. Thirty-seven candidates filed for Council and fourteen for School Committee. Of the four Plan E members of the existing Council, three did not run. Of the two Plan E members of the School Committee (not counting two who early ceased to represent the Plan E Committee), one failed to run.

The CCA in early September adopted platforms for the guidance of candidates, that for the Council advocating the council-manager system, responsible Councillors, and a competent city manager; that for the School Committee advocating government "by sound policy instead of unsound politics," an inter-race program, encouragement of teaching personnel, health program, after-school recreation, and a School Committee free from influences other than those primarily interested in the best education. It then invited all candidates to appear before a subcommittee and finally endorsed seven candidates for Council and six for School Committee. Two excellent Negro candidates were running, one for Council and one for School Committee, both Protestant clergymen. Since the CCA adopted a permanent policy of endorsing no clergymen, it endorsed neither of those two candidates, though it announced its approval of their qualifications. It demanded no pledges of its endorsees, but chose those who it believed would pursue the policies expressed in its platform.

The Council slate included Thomas F. Burns, a Labor leader from East Cambridge; James J. Casey, recently retired as assessor after 30 years in office, former president of the National Assessors Association; Joseph De Guglielmo, a returned veteran of World War II, former assistant city solicitor and converted opponent of Plan E; Arthur Drinkwater, former member of the Plan B City Council, Harvard graduate, lawyer, Republican; John D. Lynch, former mayor under Plan B, twice elected to the Council under Plan E, banker; Hyman Pill, veteran of twelve years' service in both Plan B and Plan E Councils; and W. Donnison Swan, veteran of World

[1] A further description of these groups and their activities will appear in the Citizen Action section of the REVIEW for March.

Wars I and II, Harvard graduate, banker, Republican. Only Lynch and Pill were members of the existing Council.

For School Committee, the CCA endorsed Daniel P. Collins, in the State Labor Department; Mrs. Cora Butler Conant, twice elected under Plan E; Fred D. Doyle, former teacher, father of seven children; Bradley Dewey, former rubber director, member of the Board of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and of the Advisory Committee of Notre Dame; John T. O'Callahan, lawyer, previously endorsed by the Plan E Committee; and Russell A. Wood, veteran of fifteen years on the School Committee, former state auditor.

The campaign consisted largely of house meetings and newspaper advertisements. There was little interest in large rallies. The CCA after the election reported expenditures of about $18,000, largely for many full-page newspaper advertisements and several all-voter mailings. The opposition never organized into any sort of unity and there was no other "slate."

CCA candidates supported each other excellently. City Manager Atkinson as an individual did not become a campaign issue, though his achievements were heavily emphasized and the CCA candidates all expressed themselves in appreciation of him.

Little was said about the method of marking ballots. This was probably a mistake, as there was a considerable number of invalid and ineffective ballots. In general, it seems fair to characterize the arguments of the CCA candidates as capitalizing on the undoubted benefits of the council-manager form of government, and of the opposition as anti-P.R. with two of the winners as anti-Atkinson.

About 5,000 more voters handed in ballots than in the 1943 election.

The count was efficiently conducted in about seven days by the chairman of the Election Commission, who directed the count in 1943. The results showed Lynch, Swan, Casey, Pill, and DeGuglielmo of the CCA candidates elected to the Council, with former Councillors Michael J. Neville and Michael A. Sullivan, former School Committeeman John J. Foley, and Thomas M. McNamara, who was a Councillor under Plan B and for the two years under Plan E.

Councillor Sennott, former acting mayor under Plan B, leader of the ticket in the 1941 first Plan E election, and re-elected in the 1943 election, was the next to the last man eliminated, losing out by 42 ballots. He demanded a recount, which was held. He gained about five votes. The result was not changed, proving again that the system of choosing surplus ballots is a fair cross-section.

Neither Neville nor McNamara are opponents of the city manager. It would appear that Colonel John B. Atkinson is safely in a position to continue his record of accomplishments.

For School Committee, Mrs. Conant, Mr. Dewey and Mr. Wood of the CCA endorsees were elected, along with Miss Margaret M. Kelleher and Robert J. Reardon, both re-elected, and Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., state representative, a newcomer. Councillor Lynch, elected mayor by the Council, is an *ex officio* member of the committee, thus giving CCA endorsees a majority.

MARCUS MORTON, JR.
Former Cambridge Councillor

A Hot Fight in Hamilton

The tenth biennial P. R. election in Hamilton, Ohio, developed a spirited contest on municipal issues and overturned a Council majority.

Under City Manager Russell P. Price, who has been the city's chief executive ever since the present charter went

into effect in January 1928, the city services generally and the three municipal utilities (electricity, gas and water) have been administered with a high degree of efficiency which is widely recognized. Critics of the regime charge, however, that a certain amount of organized gambling and prostitution is allowed to operate in the city without molestation.

Led by Councilman Howard F. Wilson, a new municipal party entered the Council race this fall pledged to get rid of Mr. Price if given a majority control. Its eight candidates were known as the Citizens Liberal ticket. The "big four" of the outgoing Council of seven, who had been supporting Mr. Price and his policies, joined with others in entering a "Progressive League" ticket of seven, though only one of the four stood for re-election. There was also a third ticket under the sponsorship of the Non-Partisan League, successor to the Charter group which secured the P. R.-manager charter's adoption back in 1926 and elected several Council majorities under it, but is now much reduced in size over the issue of gambling against which its leaders took a strong stand. The four Non-Partisan candidates included in their platform a promise to investigate the police department. There were also six independent candidates regularly nominated and one substantial write-in vote.

Mr. Wilson, the leading critic of the administration, polled the astonishing vote of 4,285 first choices out of a total of 14,479—more than twice the election quota of 1,810 and more than three times the first-choice vote of his nearest rival. The ticket he headed actually polled a bare majority of the first choices, but this majority was quickly dissipated when Mr. Wilson's surplus votes were transferred and it was found that nearly a third of his unneeded supporters had failed to support the rest of his ticket and expressed preferences for candidates on other tickets instead. On the final count the Citizens' Liberal ticket had 49 per cent of the effective votes, elected three candidates, and just failed to elect the fourth needed for a Council majority. Under a plurality system it probably would have elected all seven.

The Non-Partisan ticket came up from 18 per cent of the first-choice votes to 26 per cent of the final votes and easily elected two. The Progressive ticket started with 24 per cent, ended with 25, and also elected two.

Thus candidates critical of some aspects of past administrations succeeded in filling five of the seven places on the Council. It is not certain, however, that there will be a change of managers as well as a change of policy. Mr. Price has always maintained that he was ready to follow any clear policy that a majority of the Council laid down.

A Representative Group

The representative character of the new Council will be seen from the following brief descriptions of its members:

Howard F. Wilson, Citizens' Liberal, manager of the Hamilton Welfare Finance Company, elected for the third time;

Robert A. Wittman, Citizens' Liberal candidate brought up to the quota by 684 votes from Wilson's surplus, a young soldier en route home from Europe, a new member;

Leo J. Welsh, Progressive League, Pennsylvania Railroad employee, mayor in the outgoing Council, elected for the ninth time;

William Beckett, Non-Partisan League, treasurer of the Beckett Paper Company, former councilman, resigned during his second term to enter the armed forces;

Edward Beckett, Citizens Liberal,

machinist generally supported by organized labor, which had no official candidate this time, a new member;

Miss Eleanore W. Frechtling, Non-Partisan League, bookkeeper, a leader in the Women's City Club, re-elected to a second term:

Andrew W. Bruck, Progressive League, retired saloon proprietor, former member for two terms.

Of the 14,479 who cast valid ballots, 12,347, or 85 per cent, helped elect candidates for whom they voted; 9,664, or 67 per cent, saw their first choices elected.

There were 765 invalid ballots, 5 per cent of the total marked. An additional 108 ballots were blank.

The count was completed in 27 hours of working time—longer than usual because of the large surplus and the number of candidates—under the direction of Fred M. Stitsinger, clerk of the Board of Elections.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—For the information in this article we are indebted to Cyrus Fitton, Hamilton member of the P. R. League Council, Mr. Stitsinger and the *Hamilton Journal* and *Daily News,* which carried a very complete account of the election.

Boulder's Fourteenth P. R. Election

The little university city of Boulder, Colorado, nestled among the outposts of the Rockies, elected city councilmen by P. R. for the fourteenth time on November 6. Boulder has used P. R. longer than any other city in the United States, having adopted the plan in 1918 and repulsed overwhelmingly three efforts to repeal it.

Unlike all the other P. R. cities in this country, Boulder elects only part of its Council each time. Three members are elected at large every two years for six-year terms. This reduces the number of groups of voters that can get separate representation and makes it necessary for a minority to poll a full quarter of the valid votes before it can be sure of electing anyone. Nevertheless, a full 75 per cent did help elect candidates for whom they voted at this election, and there appears to have been satisfaction over the years with the quality of the results achieved.

Ordinarily candidates in Boulder have been content to run on their records or their personal standing and popularity in the community, but this year the first candidate elected, A. Gayle Waldrop, campaigned on a definite platform of municipal issues. These included proposals to develop the city's recreational facilities and "a study by a Council committee to get the facts and recommend whether Boulder should own its electric distribution system," an issue of which some less successful candidates have been afraid. Since Mr. Waldrop needed only a large minority to win one of the three places, and the other candidates did not declare themselves on the same issues, it is not clear whether he was appealing to a majority sentiment or not, but in any case, as happens frequently under P. R., a forthright appeal on a controversial issue was rewarded by the enthusiastic support of enough voters to insure election and win a hearing on the issue in the representative body.

Mr. Waldrop is a new member of the Council. The three members whose terms expired were all among the eight candidates, but only one of them was re-elected.

There were 1,812 valid ballots and 138 invalid (7 per cent of the total). The ballots were counted by a force of nineteen, including the six councilmen whose terms did not expire, City Manager H. C. McClintock, City Clerk

(Continued on Page 104)

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

German Government in U. S. Zone

Country Progresses Rapidly in Stabilization Program

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following is a condensation of the Monthly Report of the Military Governor of the U. S. Zone in Germany, No. 3, October 20, 1945.

GERMAN government and civil administration have progressed rapidly along the lines of decentralization, denazification and stabilization of government.

Governmental Structure

A major revision of administrative areas in the American Zone was accomplished when Land Hessen and Provinz Hessen-Nassau were consolidated to form the unit now known as Gross Hessen.[1]

Formation of Gross Hessen was desirable because Land Hessen alone was too small to require or support a complete *land* government — especially while having to bear the costs of an aggressive war—and because the inclusion of former Prussian Province Nassau into the U. S. Zone of Occupation required it to be handled by some sort of *land* type government. With this consolidation a state has been established which is strong enough to become a basic unit in a federal system of government. From a long range point of view it greatly enhances and sets a wholesome precedent for the policy of decentralization of the German government.

Another step of far-reaching importance is the plan for coordination of German *laender* governments and the special administrative services in the U. S. Zone. A critical problem had been created by the absence of effective coordination and control within each zone for the various special administrative services which formerly came under direct control of the central government. To improve the situation a meeting of the Minister Presidents of the *Laender* in the American Zone and the *Oberbuergermeister* of Bremen was arranged. These officials were instructed to bring with them plans by which the *laender* governments will provide the necessary supervision over the former national administrative services which come within their *land* boundaries and to establish a joint coordination and information staff of German functional experts which will provide the exchange of information and studies necessary to keep German government in the U. S. Zone working in unison. This is an interim measure pending establishment of quadripartite central administrative machinery.

Elections Planned

Military government has accomplished the administrative portion of its task to such an extent that by next spring, for the first time in more than twelve years, free elections will have been held for all the lower levels of German civil government. [Elections were held in Gross Hessen, Bavaria and Wuertemberg-Baden on January 20 and 27.] The German people, however, must learn democracy through their own experience. The detailed controls of military government in the U. S. Zone will be withdrawn as rapidly as the German people show themselves ready for self-government.

Progress has been such that additional responsibilities may now be

[1] A German *land* (plural *laender*) is equivalent to an American state; a province is a further subdivision in the state of Prussia.

placed on the German administrative machinery. To this end, the organization of military government in the U. S. Zone will be changed during a nine-month period, ending next June, so that control will be exercised only at the higher levels (i.e. *Laender* and central). However, special functional, investigating, reporting and checking teams will maintain close supervision of all lower echelons of civil government.

Local Government

In order to effectuate the decentralization of government and at the same time prepare the Germans for "democratic self-government," a directive has been issued which requires the *laender* governments to prepare local government codes and proposals for election procedures.[2]

The *Deutscher Gemeindetag*, a strongly centralized Nazi organization which supplanted pre-Nazi associations of local authorities (e. g. the *Deutscher Staedtetag*) has been refused permission to reorganize. Attention has been given to the problem of getting these pre-Nazi organizations reestablished in the *Laender*.

Considerable stress has also been placed on the organization of advisory committees which will work with the civil governments. Many types of committees have been formed: food, transportation, financial, civil administration, and others. Bremen Enclave reports:

"To introduce into the city government an element of representation and responsibility, a system of advisory committees is being established whose function will be: (1) to advise the members of the Senate and other public officials; (2) to represent group interests and the population as a whole; and (3) to assist in the task of making clear to the public the aims and actions of the administration.

"Power to create advisory committees, to determine the membership and to appoint the members, is vested in the Senate. Members of the committees will be drawn from civil service, professional, commercial and labor groups, and the general public.

"Senators and heads of departments and branch offices will discuss all important matters with the advisory committees concerned and will report regularly to the committees.

"Committees are being created initially within seven of the nine functional divisions of the city government, the exceptions being finance and public health. A total of 27 committees is proposed, with approximately 180 members."

Civil Service

The shortage of competent German civil service personnel in the U. S. Zone and the non-existence of a central civil service agency have made necessary much emergency field recruiting and training in order to fill civil service jobs with politically acceptable candidates.

The lack of a central civil service agency and the assignment of responsibility for civil service to the *laender* governments have resulted in non-uniform action in the *Laender* of the U. S. Zone. To overcome this, to redevelop programs for securing satisfactory civil service personnel, and to democratize the former castebound German civil service, policy statements have been formulated and directives are going out to the field units.

Plans under way may consolidate all full-time governmental employees (formerly divided into *Beamte, Angestellte* and *Arbeiter*) into one service. The old system did not readily allow for promotion, for example, from salaried worker (*Angestellter*) to official (*Beamter*), and the *Beamte* were prone

[2]See the REVIEW, November 1945, p. 525.

to consider themselves privileged persons rather than public servants.

Requirements will be changed to permit entry of all persons qualified and will remove former militaristic favoritism which required a large portion of the jobs to go to ex-servicemen.

In many areas of the U. S. Zone German civil government officials, working under the supervision of the MG officers, have conducted on-the-job training programs. New civil servants with sufficient background knowledge have been put on the job, and allowed to accept more and more responsibility as they became experienced in the work. Another method is to bring in civil servants for a brief course at a central point, and upon completion to send them back to their own offices to help train the personnel there. Throughout the U. S. Zone, various plans for pre-job training are being worked on. Courses are being arranged in schools and other training opportunities are in prospect.

Denazification of the civil service has been carried on thoroughly, and no person who has been removed from office in accord with the denazification program, or his survivors, will be entitled to pensions or other special benefits or privileges.

Planning and Survey Agencies

Throughout the U. S. Zone much work has been done on the problems of reconstruction, in both emergency housing and long range planning. In every city work is in progress to clear the town of rubble, to prepare housing for the winter, and at the same time to draw up future plans for reconstruction.

Several cities already have their plans nearing completion. German officials in Darmstadt, Kassel, Ulm and others have proposed new or modified city plans. Building, of course, is not yet being done as all available supplies of building materials have been channeled into emergency repairs to get usable houses into shape for winter. Shortages of transportation, fuel and raw materials have prevented manufacture and distribution of adequate supplies of building materials, but considering that the quantities of materials available locally are limited, work is proceeding as satisfactorily as can be expected.

Labor's Plans for English Local Government Take Shape

More local government activity, increasing local-central government coordination, socialization, and a more vigorous government program at both the local and central levels are outstanding trends of the Labor party's policies toward local government in the first five months of its control. As forecast here last September,[1] important changes are being made with regard to municipally owned utilities, housing and planning, health services, and fire and police services.

Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council, announced in the House of Commons late in November that, among others, the electricity and gas supply industries, civil aviation, canals, and dock and harbor undertakings were to be nationalized within the next five years. Local government activity was important in most of these fields; and to the extent that the central government assumes control, local authorities will have less responsibility.

Yet the party of Sidney and Beatrice Webb is not presiding over the liquidation of local government. More local government activity as part of a more vigorous government program at both local and central levels is the primary emphasis. To meet postwar conditions certain former powers of local govern-

[1] "British Labor Victory and Local Government," THE REVIEW, September 1945, pp. 427-8.

(Continued on Page 194)

Books in Review

Civil Service in Wartime. Edited by Leonard D. White. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945. viii, 253 pp. $2.50.

The story of how our civilian army —the federal civil service—mobilized for war and, together with the armed forces, "wrought the mightiest miracle recorded in all the history of man" is graphically described in ten lectures given under the auspices of the Walgreen Foundation at the University of Chicago. Among the participants are some who have played a prominent role in the administration of governmental affairs during the world conflict.

Leonard D. White, former U. S. civil service commissioner, who edits the volume, outlines the nature and scope of the problem which confronted our public services just before and after war broke out. He maintains that the administration of the federal civil service "was on the whole a successful enterprise." He points out the serious lack of executive and management talent that existed to cope with our war activities, and realizes that there has been some "deterioration" in the application of the competitive principle of selection, in classification of positions, and in methods of recruitment. He finds no great evidence of undue over-expansion of the federal service, claiming the "alarm over an inflated bureaucracy seemed more inflated at times than the public service itself." The service was "singularly free from scandal" during the crisis, its integrity never questioned, and its most serious criticism "overstaffing and inadequacy."

The search for executive talent, both within and without the civil service, is described by Herbert Emmerich, director of the Public Administration Clearing House, while the methods followed in the establishment of the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel for professional and scientific talent is explained by Leonard Carmichael of Tufts College, former director of the National Roster. The part that the Federal Budget Bureau played in controlling employments in the federal service and the relation of the bureau to the central personnel agency and operating departments is recounted by Edgar Young, formerly with the Budget Bureau. A summary of the successes and failures of the federal civil service administration in war time is presented by Louis Brownlow, former director of the Public Administration Clearing House, who believes that the Civil Service Commission did a good job, but ought, nevertheless, to be abolished in favor of his own plan of a personnel manager for the federal government. Included also in the volume is a thought-provoking article on an "international civil service" system for the United Nations Organization.

It is a little unfortunate, perhaps, that there was not included in the series the role that the state and municipal civil services played in the mobilization for defense and war. After all, half of the nation's public services were performed at the local level but the glamour of world conflict and the magnitude of the federal service naturally prompt us to recognize primarily the dedication of the federal services to the defense of world democracy.

This valuable contribution to contemporary history will retain a high place in the annals of public administration and the chronicles of World War II. It lends encouragement to those of us who never faltered in our faith in the efficacy of the merit system even under stupendous stress of war.

H. Eliot Kaplan,
Executive Secretary
National Civil Service League

California Government, Politics and Administration. By Winston W. Crouch and Dean E. McHenry. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1945. 344 pp. $3.

Feeling that "for many years California has been a notable laboratory in political experiment," but that no comprehensive treatment has yet been given to the matter, the authors have undertaken "to present a fairly complete analysis of state and local government in California which they hope will serve the needs of college and university students and responsible citizens of the state." They point to the initiative, the recall, county and municipal home rule, and other governmental devices in which California pioneered. Chapters cover local governments—county, municipal, etc.—as well as the various matters with which a state must deal—finance, civil service, agriculture, education, health, law enforcement. At the end of each chapter there is a selected bibliography.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Citizen Action

Community Action for Local Self Government. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Commerce, State Planning Board, 1945. 40 pp.

Conservation

Our State's Program in Conservation. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Commerce, State Planning Board, 1945. 52 pp.

Housing

A Survey of Negro Tenants. Conducted under the direction of Milton Bona by E. Shelton Hill, Lou M. Smith, Floyd L. Standifer and Juanita Harris. Vancouver, Washington, Housing Authority, 1945. 12 pp.

Motor Vehicles

Motor Vehicle Transportation in American Life. The Economic, Social and Safety Factors of Motor Vehicle Transportation for American Youth. Analysis by Norman G. Shidle, Teaching Aids by Robert I. Adriance. Washington 6, D. C., National Association of Secondary-School Principals and National Council for the Social Studies, departments of the National Education Association, 1945. 55 pp. 30 cents.

Taxation and Finance

A Farmer Looks at Fiscal Policy. By Thad Snow. Washington, D. C., National Planning Council, 1945. 22 pp. 25 cents.

Governmental Debt in the United States: 1945 (preliminary). By Wylie Kilpatrick and N. B. Gerry. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 2 pp.

State Tax Legislation in 1945. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* October-November, 1945. 33 pp. 50 cents.

Trends in Real Estate Tax Exemptions. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* December 1945. 3 pp. 25 cents.

Urban Redevelopment

Comparative Analysis of the Principal Provisions of State Urban Redevelopment Legislation. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, Office of the General Counsel, 1945. 74 pp.

Directory, Planning and Zoning Organizations in New York State. Albany, New York Department of Commerce, Bureau of Planning, 1945. 102 pp. Free.

Land and Finance in Urban Redevelopment in the Interest of the Municipality. A Memorandum of Elementary Considerations Submitted in October 1945 to the Mayor and City Council as a Part of a Report on the Groundwork and Inventory for The Master Plan of Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Department of City Planning, 1945. 12 pp.

Land Suitable for Urban Expansion in the New York Metropolitan Region. (The Second in the Land Use Studies Reports.) New York 17, Regional Plan Association, Inc., 1945. 12 pp. 50 cents.

Local Planning and Zoning. A Manual of Powers and Procedures for Citizens and Governmental Officials. Albany, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Planning, 1945. 67 pp. Free.

Veterans

Bibliography on Veterans Affairs. Reemployment of Returning Veterans, Placement of Returning Veterans, Training of Returning Veterans, Supervision of Returning Veterans. Washington, D. C., Army Service Forces, Headquarters Ninth Service Command, Civilian Personnel Division, 1945. 8 pp.

Veterans Employment in Public Service. A Bibliography for Personnel Officers. Los Angeles, Municipal Reference Library, 1945. 7 pp. 5 cents.

LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD

(Continued from Page 101)

ments are being assumed by the central level. For example, the trunk roads bill, which has been given a second reading in the House of Commons, provides for national control of 3,685 miles of road previously locally maintained in order to further a uniform system of principal routes.

More important in amount and in degree are the increased responsibilities of localities in such fields as housing and planning. Local governments are the instruments for carrying out the new housing program which calls not only for low-cost building but also for building entire communities. They are being given wider land acquisition powers for community planning. As for health services, it is predicted that the new government will give local authorities a more important role to play in this expanding field than the previous government had planned to do.[2]

While no government policy has been announced so far as to disposition of the fire services, the police bill has been given a second reading in the House of Commons. It would merge the police forces of the non-county boroughs (in general, the smaller cities) with the forces of the county in which they are located.

A trend toward larger local units has been marked in another way. The members of the Local Government Boundary Commission have been appointed; they are to consider questions of consolidation.[3]

Local-central coordination is emphasized by a recent announcement that local programs of capital expenditure for the next three years are to be submitted to the Ministry of Health; the data is necessary for purposes of nation-wide employment policy.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from Page 98)

Mayme Graham, the city attorney and the city engineer. The count started at 8.30 the evening of election day and was completed just at midnight.

The general popularity of the city government was attested by a vote of 1,217 to 171 in favor of a $225,000 bond issue to finance a new municipal building, including a library and museum.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—For the information in this article we are indebted to the *Boulder Camera* and former Councilman Leroy W. Cook.

Lowell Next Month

It is planned to carry next month an account of the one remaining P. R. election of November 6 not already described in this department, that of City Council and School Board in Lowell, Massachusetts.

[2]See THE REVIEW, December 1945, p. 493, for latest developments on the health services plan.

[3]See "England Plans Area Changes," the REVIEW, July 1945, pages 332-336.